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THE LEE MARMON MANUSCRIPT

Compiled by C. H. C. Seaman

THE SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE PRINTING PRESS

1989

THE LEE MARMON MANUSCRIPT ©

THE AMHERST COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM

THE NELSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PREFACE

In January, 1989, the newly reorganized Nelson County Historical Society set several goals for the coming year. One was to determine the whereabouts of, and future plans for, the "Marmon manuscript", an incomplete but extensively documented history of Amherst and Nelson counties during the eighteenth century when both were a part of the frontier. The manuscript was to have been published in 1976 as part of the bicentennial celebration of the American Revolution, but for various reasons, the manuscript was never completed, and the written agreement between its author, and the Nelson County Historical Society and the Amherst Bicentennial Committee lapsed.

After various queries, I found the manuscript in the Amherst County Historical Museum where the Amherst Bicentennial Committee had placed it, together with remaining funds, when the Committee dissolved. Shortly thereafter, Cliff Woods and Catherine Seaman, representing the Nelson County Historical Society, met with Thomas Mackie, Director of the Amherst County Historical Museum, and Richard Pendleton, President of the Museum Board. The Director and Board, absorbed in the process of renovating a building to house the Museum which had long outgrown its first home, had no plans for the manuscript. Therefore, we proposed that the Nelson County Historical Society assume the responsibility for the preparation of a "clean typed copy" of the manuscript which would then be duplicated for both societies. The monies from the Bicentennial Committee were to finance the production, and the bid of Valerie Massie and Linda Sherman to type the manuscript was accepted. However, due to pressures of time and problems with the computer, Massie was able to type only Chapters I, II, V; and Sherman, a partial bibliography. Seaman completed the remainder, and is responsible for any and all errors.

During a later meeting with Ann Whitley, Thomas Mackie, and Catherine Seaman, Mrs. Whitley proposed that twenty duplicated copies be bound in order to preserve them better, and that copies be placed in several libraries surrounding the Nelson-Amherst area.

The task of producing a clean copy proved to be a formidable one. The copies we received were at times faded and difficult to read, and appeared to be in a rough draft form. Several persons had apparently edited the manuscript, writing over the author's original copy. Unincorporated editorial changes, including empty footnote brackets, deletions, insertions, and changes in the sequence of the hundreds of footnotes, were found on nearly every page. The changes were apparently meant for the author, since the spelling and style were not consistent throughout as one would expect from a final draft. At one point, an editor noted he had stopped editing Chapter IV in midpoint in order for the material to be reorganized by the author into tables.

The typists agreed in advance that their job was to type, not edit, the manuscript, incorporating the changes of former editors where these were comprehensible. Since there were multiple copies of most chapters, we chose those chapters that we assumed to be the work of the last editor. Our own changes were confined to simple measures such as underlining various terms (*ibid*, *passim*, *op. cit.*). At times, the faint reproduction of words and/or handwritten instructions forced the typist to guess at the meaning or leave blanks.

The organization of the manuscript raised additional questions. For example, it was not clear where should the extensive end notes the tables, and the bibliographies should go. After examining several histories of Virginia, I finally made the decision to place footnotes and bibliographies at the end of the manuscript in order not to interrupt the flow of the history.

Given the limitations of time and money, every reasonable effort was made to produce a clean copy that was easy to read. However, in spite of the fact that the typed manuscript was corrected with a spelling check, and was read several times before being printed by lazer, typographical errors were missed. Nonetheless, I have no doubt that the manuscript is readable, and will cast a great deal of light on the history of present Amherst and Nelson counties during the eighteenth century.

Persons involved with the manuscript in its earliest days, including Professor Paul Taylor of Sweet Briar College and Al Weed

of Nelson County, accepted an invitation to write an introduction to the publication, but the pressures of the Fall Semester at Sweet Briar, and the harvest season in Nelson prevented their contribution.

The Nelson County Historical Society
Catherine Seaman, President
October, 1989.

PART I

EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION

Violence, growth, violence, and regeneration - this recurring cycle has always characterized existence in the Amherst-Nelson area. But no where is to be found the beauty and horror of this saga more clearly revealed than in the one and eight-tenths billion years of its natural and aboriginal history. Violence, natural and man-made, is the dominant motif of this picture.

The molten eruptions that spewed forth to create the Blue Ridge Mountains obliterated previously existing landforms. Sedimentation and erosion further reshaped the surface of the land. Dominant animals devoured the plant life and the less adaptive creatures. These, in turn, were consumed or phased out by natural selection. The Indians eventually gained the upper hand over the remaining animals and began the process of wrenching minerals from the soil and harnessing the vegetation to their needs. Yet, weakened by disease, fratricidal conflict, and the not particularly benign action of their European neighbors, the Indians followed the course of their predecessor to virtual extinction. The seeming virginal serenity of the western Piedmont, so often remarked upon by the first English arrivals, mocked the holocausts of the past.

Chapter I

The Land

At its creation in 1761, the nine hundred fifty-five square miles of old Amherst County lay between 78 30' west longitude and 37 30' and 38 north latitude, almost exactly in the center of Virginia. Located in the Piedmont and Blue Ridge Mountain regions, this area served as a landbridge to Southside, the Valley of Virginia, the mountains, and the rest of the Piedmont. Old Amherst County has since been divided into Amherst and Nelson counties with the following current geographical neighbors: Albemarle on the east and north east; Buckingham and Appomattox on the southeast. Campbell, Bedford and the city of Lynchburg on the south; Rockbridge on the southwest; and Augusta on the northwest. ()

Although the geological history of the area is admittedly sketchy, some tentative conclusions might be offered. almost two billion years ago, significant volcanic activity commenced on the western edge of Old Amherst. () The result, the Blue Ridge Mountains, represent part of the oldest mountain chain in the Western Hemisphere - the Appalachians. The geological development of the rest of the state was the result of the ensuing occurrences east and west of this ancient divide.

Of the surviving land features of this area, the Blue Ridge is, in fact, the only form that dates to the earliest geological era, the Pre-Cambrian. Throughout the next era, the Paleozoic, the Blue Ridge stretched beyond the Piedmont to the 'fall line' which runs east of Richmaond () During the Cambrian period (500-600 million years ago), there was much folding and uplift of the terrain east of the present mountains and great thicknesses of sediment came to cover what is now the Piedmont. () Rivers ran west to east through the region during the Mesozoic Era. One of these drained some 500,000 square kilometers and ran west of the Ohio Valley, but much of the sediment deposited on the future Piedmont and washed out to the Atlantic Ocean. ()

During the Mesozoic Era (630-230 million years ago) block faulting occurred on a northeast to southeast axis. Inland basins were created and various weathered products were deposited. The latter included crystalline rocks, gravel, sand, conglomerate, sandstone, and shale. Paleoclimatological evidence indicates that the weather during this time was

moist and the basins were filled with marshes and coal bearing deposits. If coal actually was created, it no longer exists, having been metamorphosed. Lava flows heralded the close of this era and produced the phenomenon of the Catocin Fault. The fault, part of an eastern regional structure which derives its name from its first observance in Maryland, is similar to the renowned San Andreas Fault of southern California, but, thus far, much less threatening.

The last major geological time unit is the Cenozoic (beginning 63 million years ago) and includes the Cretaceous, Tertiary, and Quaternary Periods. The Pleistocene, the last epoch of the Quaternary, witnessed the development of modern natural and life forms. During these periods the Piedmont plain, or peneplane, developed as a land form distinctively separate from the mountains. The presence of folding, faults, and erosion also created the phenomena known as monadocks, ridges extending west from the James River that interrupt the generally rolling countryside of the Piedmont. Volcanic activity continued until three hundred million years ago, and since then the Blue Ridge has been dormant. () The time sequence of later geological history is unclear; the myriad number of rock types and obfuscation produced by the widespread presence of metamorphic rock has effectively prevented tracing. ()

ROCK FORMATION AND SURFACE FEATURES

The clearest geological picture of Amherst and Nelson can be seen in the State of Virginia Geological Survey Map of 1963. () The oldest and most widespread structure is the Lovingson formation, composed of biotite granite, biotite gneiss, and quartz, among others. It covers the region from the Albemarle line to a point west of Lovingson in the central part of Nelson. The formation extends north to the forks of the Rockfish River and to the south of Shipman and Arrington. The Lynchburg formation, coming from the west, meets the Lovingson Formation and extends to the area of New Glasgow. The third major rock formation, the Pedlar, is composed of granite, grandiorite, syperite, quartz, anorthosite, and uakite. It extends from Holcomb Rock to Pedlar Mills, runs north of Harris Creek and branches into Clifford. It also covers Northwest Amherst and southwest Nelson.

Other significant formations include the Catocin which runs near the mountains and the James and is composed of hornblende gabbro, gneiss and talc; the Marshall, a corridor from Afton through northern

Nelson to Massies Mill and much of Amherst is composed of biotite, quartz, feldspar, granite, and gneiss; and the Roseland Anorhosite, which extends in a small radius from Massies Mill across the Piney River to the neighborhood of Clifford and is composed of ilmenite, nelsonite, and other scarce minerals. The Swift Run Formation covers western Amherst north of the Pedlar. The Evington Group, much of which is marble, runs along much of the James to Scottsville. The Loudoun formation, at the crest of the Blue Ridge on the Amherst-Rockbridge line, runs to Rockfish Gap. The Rockfish conglomerate near Faber in Nelson is a very productive source for extracting water. ()

In addition to the formation of igneous, metatmorphic and sedimentary rock in the region, waterways are an extremely significant geographic feature. The James is the predominant reiver, extending some forty miles from Lynchburg to Howardsville in an approximately two-mile-wide basin. The other principal rivers proceeding roughly east to west include the Rockfish, the Tye, the Buffalo, the Piney, and the Pedlar. None of these large tributaries enter the James from the southeast, a pivotal consideration when one examines the settlement pattern to be taken up in Chapter III. The Tye, for example, enters the James at Norwood in eastern Nelson, but served as a thoroughfare through the Blue Ridge; along its course it receives the Piney and the Buffalo. The Rockfish rises in the Blue Ridge of Augusta and enters the James at Howardsville. All of these rivers meander to some extent, but largely they flow north and south. This general north-south orientation of the rivers and the Blue Ridge inhibited east-west patterns of development. ()

The Virginia Division of Mineral Resources cites thirty-one minerals to be found in Amherst and Nelson counties. () Both counties contain aplite, ilrutile, soapstone, sand, feldspar, apatite, clay materials, iron ore, manganese, copper, quartzite, sandstone, limestone, allavite, and gneiss. Nelson, in addition, has significant amounts of titanium, kaolin, diabase, conglomerate, schist, grave, garnet, graphite, tine, galena, and sphalerite. Amherst has separate references for fergusonite and barite. Neither list is complete since the surveys generally refer only to readily commercial minerals.

Some of these deposits contain exceedingly rare minerals. Nelsonite was discovered in the county of its name. It is probably an igneous rock combining ilmenite and apatite. () Ilmenite and rutile are found in the

Roseland district stretching into both counties. These materials are used for titanium-based pigments. Rutile was mined from about 1900 until 1948, and ilmenite was extracted by surface mining of saprolite deposits from 1930 until 1971. The American Cyanamid Company at Piney River proceeded mainly apatite from 1937 to 1948. () aplite was also produced near Piney River and marketed for ceramic use.

Feldspars from the area have been used for the manufacture of porcelain and pottery. More than twenty million tons of titanium-bearing saprolite are believed to be present in the Roseland district. () Kaolin was also produced near Roseland and used primarily as a filler in paper, Kaolin northwest of the Piney river has been found potentially suitable for use in certain ceramic ware. () Granite and gneiss have been quarried near Amherst, Monroe, Lynchburg, and Variety Mills, and used for crushed and building stone. Slate has been mined near Snowden for roofing. () The quartzite near Greenway and the conglomerate of Rockfish Depot and Faber have been used for ballast. () Vein quartz has been exported from near Wright's Shop, while the clay of the area has been profitably directed to the manufacture of brick and use in foundries. Sand from quartzite found near Stapleton has been used in the manufacture of glass and as a furnace fluxing material. ()

The two counties contain some rare earth and a few precious minerals, but much to the regret of all generations (with the possible exception of a limited time in the colonial era) no gold vein has assured prosperity. () Garnets were prospected near Arrington with virtually no success. () Until 1808 minerals, including soapstone, copper, sandstone, limestone, and marble (and to a lesser extent iron and amethyst) contributed substantially to the livelihood of the inhabitants; they continued to do so through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. ()

Iron ore in the region consists of both hematite and limonite. Mines included those at Lone Pine (Salt Mill), Maud View (Stapleton), DeWitt (Greenway), and Riverville, which was the most expansive. () Limonite was also mined two to three miles northeast of Norwood Station. ()

The oldest furnace in Old Amherst was located at Elk Island, later called Allen Creek. Although abandoned around 1850, it processed hematite which rapidly gained the reputation of moulding "the best pots and ovens in the country." () The truly productive iron mines of eighteenth century Virginia (the Oxford Furnace in Campbell County and the Fredericksburg mines) lay outside of Old Amherst and were

particularly crucial to the state's economy and to the Revolutionary War effort. () Limestone, because of its soluble nature, is usually found near deposits of iron. There are two old lime kilns located in present-day Amherst at Allen Creek and Walker Ford (see map). There are additional quarries in Nelson at Buck Mountain and Owen Creek and near the town of Warminster. () Stone for the locks of the James River and the Knawha Canal was quarried between Elk Creek and Greenway. () High quality marble came out of some of these deposits. Thomas Jefferson mentioned qualities of white, red, blue, and purple marble at the mouth of the Rockfish, but noted that "none of it has ever been worked." () Watson refers to the fine white marble near Warminster () and Fucron cites a corridor of "Cockeysville" marble seven miles wide at its thickest in the region of Amherst, Nelson, Buckingham, and Appomattox. ()

Copper was the most significant commercial mineral in Old Amherst before 1808. The main deposits were found at the Glades, near Buffalo Ridge, on either side of modern Route 60. Joe's Creek, at Norwood, was also the site of copper production. ()

The best account of copper production in early Amherst is to be found in "A Plan and Prospectus and Geological Survey of the Amherst Copper Mine, Virginia," (Richmond, 1848). () Jefferson also referred to this mine: "A copper mine was once opened in the county of Amherst...however, either from bad management or the poverty of the veins, [it] was discontinued." () The "Amherst Copper Mine Prospectus" provided much more information than was available to Jefferson. () Additional information concerning this mine and two of its proprietors, Reverend Robert Rose and Colonel John Chiswell, will be provided in Chapter IV.

Soapstone, composed of impure talc and alterations of magnesium silicates formed by the metamorphosis of igneous rock, provides the longest historical continuum in Amherst and Nelson; it was vital to the Indian economy and has been fixed in the minds of the contemporary public by the novels - and the television series they inspired - of Earl Hamner. The Albemarle soapstone belt, running parallel to the Findley and Hawkins mountains extends northeast to Schuyler and southwest to Galts Mill. The most remunerative location was at Schuyler.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were six quarries in

Nelson: Piedmont Soapstone Company, Plumbers' Soapstone Company, the Virginia Soapstone Company, Phoenix, American and National. () The Georgia Marble Company, Alberene Division, still quarries the stone at Schuyler.

The soils in Amherst and Nelson are composed of myriad types and vary widely regarding arability. () The General Soils Map show that those in Nelson County and those in Amehrst are fairly similar. () There are three principal types: residium (soil formed in its present location), colluvium (soil) moved down a slope or through the pressures of gravity), and alluvium (stream deposited). The hilly terrain of this region, coupled with frequent flooding, means that much of the soil is of the latter two types.

These soils have had a significant impact on the agriculture of the regional Congaree soil, just above the James River, is excellent for tobacco, and that region has long been a productive area. The decay of marble and schist in that area has also provided outstanding farm land for the so-called Dark Tobacco Belt. () Soils in the area of monadnocks have proved receptive to light tobacco. () The alluvial flood plains, however, have varied greatly in their fertility, and floods have often washed out much of the good top-and sub-soils. In Amherst, Starr soil has afforded ample farmland on the creek bottoms. () Deposits of sedimentary rock east of the Blue Ridge to Buffalo River have proved fertile in the past for chestnut trees but are generally inferior quality for crops. () The Lovingsston gneiss has formed fertile brick-red soil between the Blue Ridge and the lines of the Southern Railway. () The white soil of the Piney River-Lowesville area is not generally productive for crops. The many narrow creek beds, woodsy uindergrowth, and eroded hills have alos greatly minimized the possibility of commercial agriculture and dictated either subsistence farming or non-agricultural use.

FLORA

The record of ancient plant life in Old Amherst is sketchy, as is the plant fossil record, for there are no pre-Cambian fossils for the entire state of Virginia. Since Virginia remained unglaciated, however, one may assume that the flora prior to 10,000 B.C. has a chance of surviving into the present. ()

Before the last American glaciation, the Wisconsin (which ended circa 8,000 B.C.), in central Virginia flora was probably similar to that of the forests to the south. The climate after 8,000 B.C. became warm and

moist, while from 6,000 to 4,000 B.C. it changed to warm and dry. As the glacier receded, northern forest types developed along the Appalachians, resulting in the growth of oak-chestnuts in the mountains and oak-hickory in the Piedmont. () Pines developed in the poorer soils.

Modern data gives some indication of historical timber reserves. As late as 1966, 70 percent of Amherst land was commercial forest (out of 209,000 acres) and the figure for Nelson was 75 percent out of 226,000. () The national forest areas comprised 43,000 acres for Amherst and 9,800 for Nelson. () The timber resources for Nelson included: hickory-oak (164,194 acres), pine (28,171 acres), oak pine (23,664 acres), chestnut (?), shortleaf pine (3,382), and white pine-hemlock (3,381). () The figures for Amherst were: oak-hickory (107,610 acres), oak pine (50,874), Virginia pine (35,225), and chestnut (15,730). () It is impossible to enumerate other surviving plants since that in itself would encompass a major work.
()

FAUNA

The most detailed search for fossils in Old Amherst was conducted by geologists who mapped the Buckingham and Vesuvius quadrangles. () Vesuvius alone actually produced fossils which lie in Rockbridge; nevertheless, a reasonable inference would extend the findings southward.

The earliest evidence dates from the late Cambrian Era (less than 300 million years ago). () Most of the subsequent geological eras show some trace of animal life such as the animal fossils at Saltville in the southwestern part of the Great Valley and dinosaur tracks found in other parts of the Piedmont. It is considered very unlikely that the latter would have ventured very far into Old Amherst since the terrain precludes the space, prey, and foliage necessary to support these creatures. There is also some evidence that crocodiles at one time inhabited the area now uplifted into the Appalachians. () The most ancient vertebrate animal to have survived in central Virginia into the present is the sturgeon, which probably dates from the Cretaceous.

In the recent era many vertebrates became extinct during the early Indian settlements, such as the American mastodon, giant sloths, eohippus, sabre-tooth cats, and camels. () Other large herbivores became unsuited for the Appalachians because the forests grew too heterogeneous

for their diets. Many reptiles were pushed south and the jaguar moved to the southwest. () Wolves have roamed eastern America perhaps for a time span of seven million years. Although in Amherst they avoided the early fate of the larger mammals, their number were very small by the nineteenth century. Foxes and bears have so far managed to hold their predators at bay in parts of the western Piedmont. Most birds adapted themselves (except for the passenger pigeon which was hunted to extinction).

Bison were fairly numerous in the 1600s but their easterly migrations seem to have coincided with the arrival of the white man, a fatal coincidence for them. (61) In tracing the presence of large mammals in North America, we find that the moose was the next to last species to appear, followed only by man. (62)

Chapter II

Indians

The study of Indians in the area of Old Amherst is most usefully pursued through archaeological evidence. In its various forms of gathering, digging, and theorizing, archaeology has a long and distinguished history in the Western Piedmont. Thomas Jefferson is known to have pursued his interest in the region's Indian as early as the revolutionary period. () Gathering arrowheads along the creek bottoms was a pleasurable recreation during the nineteenth century. In 1889 the Smithsonian Institution decided to launch a major project to reconstruct Indian life throughout the eastern United States; the James River valley was selected as the pilot project. Men such as James Mooney () and Gerard Fowke () in the 1890s combed through Nelson County in particular. Some of their findings have been catalogued and displayed in the Museum of Natural History in Washington D. C.

In the 1920s, Colonel Wirt Robinson assembled what is still recognized as one of the finest collections of Indian artifacts anywhere in the country, totalling more than twenty thousand separate articles. () David Bushnell, Jr., utilized many of Robinson's findings in the 1920s and 1930s as well as contributing ethnological data of his own. () Archaeological research advanced even more in the period after World War II. C. G. Holland, professor of anthropology at the University of Virginia, and Colonel Howard MacCord have both made significant findings in Nelson over the years. Howard estimates that in Nelson alone there are 25 sites per square mile or a total of at least 13,000. () Interest in Indian remains has been sustained at a high pitch in both Amherst and Nelson counties. Homer Eubank of Madison Heights, Amherst, for example, has some 2,500 projectile points that have been displayed throughout that county. ()

Despite the wealth of data, much of it still awaiting exploration, the basic mysteries remain: Who were the Indians, where did they come from, and what was their ultimate fate? A number of conjectures can and have been made, based on the artifacts. The rest of this chapter will document what hard evidence there is and will advance some speculations to fill some

of the gaps.

There are indications that the Virginia Indians migrated from the Plains during the Paleo-Indian Era. () This era, the earliest period in Indian pre-history, dates from 12,000 B. C., and was characterized by the presence of carnivorous mastodons and mammoths. Clovis points, the oldest arrowheads dating to circa 9,000 B. C., were used for hunting and, although few have been found in the Blue Ridge area, there does appear to be a strong relationship between those found in the James River Valley and those discovered in the Roanoke Valley. () As these rivers are the only two south of the Potomac to drain the Blue Ridge, it is reasonable to assume that each played a major role in channeling the earlier settlements eastward.

The Archaic Period (8,000-1,000 B. C.) followed. Life was extremely harsh and crude but at least the weather began to stabilize. Scientists speculate that during the most recent Indian settlement, the average temperature probably was what it is now: 35 degrees F. in January, 76 degrees F. in July (Nelson averages), with 41 inches of annual precipitation.

The lifestyle of Virginia Indians in this period can be somewhat more easily documented than that of the earlier one. It was dominated by fishing and food gathering. White-tailed deer were hunted and fresh water shellfish and nuts from the hardwood forests supplemented the basic diet. The Indians began to have a bit more control over their environment by employing spears (the first stemmed projectile points) for hunting and stone pestles for grinding. () The use of steatite ware made from soapstone also began in the late Archaic.

The 1971 investigations by MacCord in Nelson County provide a rudimentary picture of Archaic life in Old Amherst. () The excavation were made at Cliff Wood's farm, about one-half mile southeast of Wingina. The site ran roughly 200 yards parallel to the James River with a width varying from 75- 100 yards. () The setting is such that the area seems mainly to have been used for itinerant camp sites, while the projectile points and pottery indicate that it was more or less continuously inhabited from the Middle Archaic Period onwards. Ten projectile points made of quartz and chert were unearthed; they included the Breverton, Halifax, Savannah River, Guilford, and Moran Mountain types. () No bones or shells were found as the acidic Cecil soil would have long since caused them to disintegrate.

Holland classifies the largely pre-ceramic culture of the Early Woodland Period (1,000 to 300 B. C.) as the Mehring, from a location in Albemarle. () The Nelson sites add nothing to our knowledge of this period, although it is known that squash began to be cultivated at this time. () There is also speculation that Stony Creek Pottery was then introduced. ()

APOGEE OF OLD AMHERST INDIAN CULTURE

It was not until the Middle Woodland Period that a decided change took place in Old Amherst Indian culture. In approximately A. D. 700 the aboriginal civilization of the Western Piedmont was boosted by three major developments: The Indians became fairly sedentary, settling into village life with the full-scale development of agriculture; turkeys were domesticated, while hunting, gathering, and fishing began to fit into a more organized, seasonal, and occupational pattern; and weaponry became vastly more sophisticated with the use of bows and triangular-pointed arrows. The advance in culture and commerce is symbolized by the development of an increasingly fine pottery. Why these innovations took place is not known for certain, but it is likely that they were the result of indirect interaction with the highly advanced societies of the Mayas in Mesoamerica. () Holland has described this entire cultural sequence as that of the Whipperwill Hollow focus (again, a widespread Piedmont culture named for an area in Albemarle).⁹⁰

The Wingina site again has proved important by demonstrating how the Late Woodland culture (post-1,000 A. D. 1600s) evolved from the earlier period. Two principle types of pottery have been classified. One, the Stony Creek series, was made from fine quartz clay and fired. Its texture was gritty and sandy with color ranging from a light tan to a light orange-tan. The clay was formed by cord marking (a "cord" of clay was wrapped around a paddle, fabric impressing the most common type), or net impressing. () All three were accomplished by wrapping the device used around the clay. Rarely was there any decoration. Gradually, the Albemarle series supplanted the Stony Creek series. It was of a much higher quality and was generally a light red. However, sometimes granite or greenstone was substituted for quartz. Linear decorations were made with a sharp stick; gashes about the rim were the usual motif.

Similar ceramics have been found at three other locations in Nelson, all along the Tyne River. These are "Tice" (1 1/2 miles from the Tyro post

office and Route 56; most likely only a camp site) (); Tye River Forks (three miles upstream on Tyro on Route 56; also a camp site) (); and Tye River "Three" (one-half mile downstream on the south). ()

Additional stone artifacts unearthed at Wingina include quartz biface knives, quartz scrapers, a quartzite drill, a quartzite grubbing tool, a hammerstone, a slate pestel, a quartz grinding stone, a sandstone abrading stone, and steatite ware. Two stones, jasper and _____, which may have been imported from the Shenandoah Valley, were also found. ()

Like the Archaic projectile points, the Woodland artifacts are varied. The points include Madison (the most frequent), Clarksville, Piscataway, Yadkin, Randolph stemmed, and Potts types. These were fashioned from quartz, chert, and rhyolite. ()

MacCord and his associates were also able to spot the outlines of at least three oval houses of approximately twelve feet in diameter. () These have been roughly dated to 1,000 A. D., or the time of the Viking journeys to Vineland.

The excavations yield no clues concerning economic or social organization, but what we do know makes feasible the supposition that the village of Monahassanugh, mentioned by Captain John Smith, could have been in this general area. Although MacCord argues that the site was not occupied after 1600, citing the lack of European pottery artifacts normally unearthed at other seventeenth-century Indian sites, archaeological evidence clearly reveals an extensive settlement which could have been in existence as late as 1650. () Smith's map, drawn in 1612 and published in 1624, helps to substantiate this proposition. On the map are the five Monocan towns: Mowchemko (above the falls in Goochland near the Maniktown of the Huguenots), Massinacack (near Mowhawk Creek in Goochland), Rassaweak (near Columbia, Goochland, and cited as the main Monocan town), Monasukapanugh (near the University of Virginia on the Rivanna and documented by Jefferson, Bushnell, et al.), and Monahassanugh, the latter indicated as lying west of Monasukapanugh, a good case can be made for its location being at or near Wingina. ()

It has been thought that sites have been found in Nelson rather than in Amherst because of the location of the soapstone belt. Although agricultural economy became increasingly diverse -- beans were introduced about 700 A.D., maize was cultivated, and smoking habits originated circe 1500 -- and remained the commercial key of Old Amherst until sometime

before the seventeenth-century arrival of the Europeans.* () The mineral was fairly simple to extract and soapstone there was widely prized for functional and ceremonial purposes. () The Indians used it for pots, mortar and pipes. Since the extraction in prehistoric time was confined to only a few quarries, the existing ones were subject to heavy demands. Thus it makes sense that a village such as Monahassanugh might be established nearby to provide workers to mine the stone and to serve as a marker for the product. The site also faces high bluffs which would have provided sanctuary from marauding tribes across the James.

In 1974-1975, Professor Holland and some of his colleagues decided to trace the sources of the various soapstone artifacts found in Virginia, using a nuclear reactor for a neutron activation analysis. () Quarries in Madison, Amelia, and the Amherst-Nelson belt were examined. Most of the soapstone found west of the "fall line" were from the eastern Nelson deposits. () The quarries supplied the area between Augusta, Henrico, Campbell, and Charlotte counties. Amelia supplied the Tidewater, while Madison serviced the northern valley and Piedmont along with northern Augusta. () By the time of the Jamestown landing however, the soapstone economy had drastically declined.

At no time in the last 1,000 years do Old Amherst Indian culture seem to have been isolated. Present-day Wingina is near the intersection of two important trading paths. One branch of the great Warrior Path led west to east from Campbell County through Old Amherst along the James, leading eventually into Tidewater. The second, running from Staunton through the Rockfish Gap over the James southward to the trading town of Sara in North Carolina bisects the first near Norwood. () These "roads" connected the eastern Pamunkeys with the Indians in the New River area, as well as linking the Cherokee, the Iroquois, and the Catawba. Such a junction would have definitely encouraged a major Indian center.

Then, too, the upper James River area had been for a long time a conduit for pottery from the Tennessee River via the New River in southwest Virginia. The close relationship between the sites in Albemarle and Nelson has already been mentioned. Just as in subsequent days, Scottsville was a pivotal center of enterprise for the surrounding Piedmont. () Much of the quartzite used in the Wingina projectile points and pottery was likely manufactured in the Scottsville area. Albemarle series pottery has been discovered at relatively ancient sites in Augusta, Buckingham,

and even Bath county. () Across the mountains in the valley, especially in modern Augusta and Rockbridge, Indian occupation appears to have been less permanent and more diverse. Both Lewis Creek and Natural Chimney in Augusta have sites dating to perhaps 800 year ago, but the culture that these sites seem to have had little impact east of the mountains.

MONOCAN CULTURE IN OLD AMHERST

According to accounts given by explorer John Lederer in the 1670s, the earliest known inhabitants of the Western Piedmont were the "Tacci" or "Doegi." The Tacci supposedly occupied the region until about 1200 A.D. when the Monocans arrived. The Monocans believed that they originated in the northwest, but Holland, among others, asserts they most likely came to the Piedmont from the south. ()

Immediately south of the Potomac, the Monocans occupied the region down to the Rappahanock. South of them were the Monocans, inhabiting a tract extending east to the "fall line" at the James, north to the Madison County area, and west to the Blue Ridge. This western boundary presents something of a problem since it is not certain if the Indians west of modern Lynchburg were originally Monocans.

Monocan livelihood was anchored in hunting, fishing, and food gathering, supplemented by trading and agriculture. Deer, of course, were used in many ways: The head and the entrails seem to have been considered appetizing (), some leather-working was done with the brains, () and the skin was used for clothing. Buffalo and elk, along with shad, sturgeon, mullet, and other fish, varied the Indian's diet. The fish were caught by weirs. Beaver, turtle, and even rattlesnakes and beetles made up lesser elements of the Indian diet. Naturalist John Banister reported that often the heart of the rattlesnake was eaten while the snake was still alive. () Bear grease and acorn oil were used to discourage lice and other parasites.

While much of the land was marshy and fairly well covered by thickets, maize was widely grown. The corn could be prepared in a number of ways: as mush, as pone, and sometimes as a cress made by boiling it for 10-12 hours and then scraping off the top as a delicacy. Then, too, corn could be made into beer or fed to turkeys. ()

Besides the corn, the Monocans probably had some one hundred edible roots and plants available. () Vegetables included the sweet potato (introduced from the Caribbean), chufa, skunk cabbage, parsley,

asparagus, artichoke, cauliflower, cucumbers, pumpkins. yellow wild indigo, log peanut, sumac, parsley, and gourds. () The root of the tuckahoe plant was also a very popular food. Various berries and nuts such as black walnuts, hazelnuts, chestnuts, and beechnuts were eaten, as was the inner bark of the poplar and the slippery elm.

Beverages were made from hemlock, sweet birch, sweet fir, sassafras, teaberry, and sweet goldenwood. Nicotanea rustica was the native Indian tobacco, but it was used almost exclusively for ceremonial purpose rather than for trade or common consumption.

All medicines were referred to as "wisoccan" and were generally tied in with religious rites. () Jimson weed was chewed during religious ceremonies to produce a hallucinogenic trance. Various roots such as ginseng, Virginia snake root, Seneca rattlesnake root, and the black snake root were commonly used.

The Monocans believed that four women, Pash, Sepoy, Askaris, and Maraskaris, created the human race. Clans were named after them and families were traced matrilineally. Marriages were forbidden with the same clan, but each had its own burial grounds. It is thought that there were many levels of worshipping. For instance, only the high priest worshipped the supreme spirit; lesser citizens had to be content with those deities who concerned themselves with earthly matters. The high priest was powerful in other matters also; although the king in theory was an absolute monarch, the priest, along with the elders, could limit his powers.

The Indians likely believed in an afterlife and the transmigration of souls. According to one account, the Monocans thought that after death the good and the bad were conducted on the same road to a fork. At that point, the good were routed to a level pasture where an old man admitted them. The unvirtuous wound up in a stony and uneven area where there was perpetual winter. They could only eat bitter potatoes which gave them ulcers. Finally, turkey buzzards flew them off into nothingness. After a period of years, the exemplary and bad souls were reincarnated as befitting their previous characters. ()

Although women, as we have seen above, held an important position in this society, and as such led the Harvest Dance, they also were expected to perform much of the drudgery of farming. () Polygamous relationships were sanctioned, but adultery by women could be punished by amputating the offender's ears. ()

The Monocans used pictographs, as did most primitive tribes. They referred to themselves by three arrows, while labeling the English with a swan. () They recorded time by knots in a string or by beads. Arrivals were noted by grains of maize, while emigration and death were recorded by heaps of stones. () Seeds might have commemorated ceremonies.

It is likely that all the Piedmont Indians spoke the same language with certain dialectical differences, () and we do have some fragments of Monocan words. () The word "Monocan" itself is of uncertain meaning but most likely it translates "water" (shallows), which could indicate their inhabiting the James River and creek bottoms. () "Monahassanough" stems from the root word "Yesa" the usual Monocan word used to describe themselves, so the word may mean "town of the people of the water." () "Mus" was an all-purpose word for mineral. "Yaop" represented the term for blanket and "ati" meant house. () The falls of the James were referred to as "Paquachowng." () The Piedmont was "Ahkontshuck" and the Blue Ridge was the "Paemotinck" (the Apalataei of the Spanish). The Good Sopiurit was named "Quiacosough," while "Tagkonysough" denoted the evil Spirit. ()

The Monocans were not likely to have had much of a military organization. Their small numbers and geographical isolation gave them little incentive to organize. They were, however, loosely allied with the Mahanoacs, and together they frequently raided Powhatan's dependencies.

Powhatan told John Smith that the two tribes were accustomed to raiding below the "fall line" at the "fall of the leaf" virtually every year. () Due to lack of strength, these forays were limited to plunder rather than conquest, and indeed these occasional conflicts did not totally prevent trade, since the Algonquins were dependent upon the Monocans for their copper. Still, except for these occasional meetings, contact between the two groups seems to have been limited. As the soapstone study reveals, there was little cultural interaction between the Piedmont and the Tidewater.

At some time in the mid-seventeenth century, a group called the Rickohokeans (most likely the Westos from Tennessee) headed east on the Great Warrior Path through Old Amherst. Along the way this tribe either coerced or persuaded the Monocans and the Mahanoacs to campaign with them against the English and their Indian allies. The reason for the attack is not clear, but we do know that they inflicted the last major defeat suffered by the early Virginians. Colonel Hill and his Pamunkey allies were routed

in 1658 at the Falls of the James. Topotomoi, chief of the increasingly feeble Powhatan Confederacy, was killed along with many of his warriors. Although this group, too, was interested mainly in plunder, its members did pick up enough information about the Susquehannocks and Iroquois to discourage them from heading north. So the Westos marched out of Virginia and proceeded southward while the Monocans and Mahanoacs returned to the Piedmont and tried - not very successfully - to pick up the pieces that were left.

By this time the Cherokee and Iroquois began to present problems. Both were stirring beyond their traditional homeland; indeed, during hunting expeditions in late October and early spring, the Cherokee occupied the Peaks of Otter, right at the Monocans' back door. () For a time, the Catawbias, a hill tribe of South Carolina which, about 1650, had organized itself into a compact confederacy, were effective in stopping Cherokee activity in Virginia.

The Cherokee, the largest tribe in the southeast, with an average village of some 200 to 325, () were based in what is now eastern Tennessee (with a capital at Echota) and covered parts of North Carolina as well.

More than likely they had encountered DeSoto and his forces around 1541, which had exposed them to European military organization and guns; their entire society was geared towards mobilization for war. The Iroquois were originally from southeast Ontario and northeast New York () and at their peak dominated North America from the Dakotas to Florida. According to legend, sometime between 1450 and 1600 (most likely 1570), the Indian Deganiwidah united the five tribes of the Iroquois - the Onondoga, the Oneida, the Seneca, the Mohawk and the Cayuga - into the Iroquois Confederacy, or the League of Five Nations.

Of the five, the Mohawks were especially feared, and while they called themselves the "Flint People" the Algonquin application of Mohawk, "Man-eater," stuck, Dutch documents of 1634 note that in that year the Mohawks alone numbered 2,700; this means that their average village was twice the size of a Cherokee town.

The Iroquois had two major objectives; to control the beaver trade of the eastern part of the country and to maintain a balance of power with the southeast Indians, the French, and the English. By the 1640s they had exhausted the local supply of beaver and had acquired weapons from the

Dutch which helped them obtain new lands in a protracted war against the Hurons of Canada. The Hurons were defeated in 1649 and in 1650 the Iroquois had overcome the Neutrals also. () Inter-dissention, conflict with the New England Indians, and raids into the midwest preoccupied the League for a time. By the 1660s however, they were ready to challenge the Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The Susquehannocks had carved out a large empire and were supported by Lord Baltimore and the Maryland colony. They wielded great influence in Virginia and were generally on good terms with the Monocans. Sensing an approaching conflict with the Iroquoise, the Susquehannocks formed a quasi-alliance with the Monocans and Manahocs. This alliance sealed the fate of the Piedmont Indians, who probably would have been doomed anyway once the southern barrier to Iroquois expansion was removed.

As so often in war, a minor tactical move extinguished a culture that had survived almost 500 years. The Susquehannock War began in earnest in 1663. Much to the surprise of the Iroquois, the Susquehannocks managed to hold their own, so the League decided to strike at the rear of their enemy; they moved into Virginia. Some time before 1670 the Iroquois attacked Monahassanugh, expelling the Monocans, () and established a garrison called "Mahoc" near the strategic junction of the trading paths near Norwood. () Most of the residents fled to the southwest and settled near the Roanoke and Staunton rivers (areas perhaps inhabited since the 1650s). Others may have headed into West Virginia or the Ohio Valley. () It is also possible that some hid out in the Blue Ridge. After scattering, it is probable that they became identified with other Indian cultures, with the settlers and traders, or with black communities. In any case, there is no evidence of a Monocan identity in Old Amherst after 1670.

The war continued until 1675, when Lord Baltimore abruptly terminated the alliance and the Susquehannocks were crushed between the English and the Iroquois. They fled south, totally disrupting the frontier for Indians and settlers alike. This turmoil, coupled with colonial resentment of Sir William Berkeley's fur trading monopolies and with general antagonism towards the governor's administration, touched off Bacon's Rebellion of 1676.

One of the first incidents of the rebellion involved Nathaniel Bacon's brutal attack on the Susquehannocks and the Monocans at Occaneechi Island in the southern part of the colony. () The Susquehannocks,

Occasionally Effingham would speak up for the rights of the tributary Indians. In 1684 he proposed that the Iroquois remove themselves from east of the Blue Ridge. He suggested "thatt you do no hinder or molest our friend Indians from hunting att our mountains, itt haveing been their Country and none of yours for they never goe into your County to Disturbe any of you." () In 1683 Effingham again protested an attack made against the Sapoin (Monocans) and again claimed the English territorial rights. He alleged that all the Indians below the mountain were the "king's subjects." () The League continued to treat the "king's subjects" cavalierly, but they moderated their incursions against the whites and averted any major conflict with the Virginians. The progressive deterioration of the Monocan society is further confused by a kaleidoscope of different names applied by the English. Monocan, Monahassanugh, Nahyssan, and Hanohoskies were all used and discarded. The two names that remained were Tutelo (for Monahassanoe) and Saponi (for Monasukapanoe), and even these two were used interchangeably. The only group to retain the term Monocan (Mankin) were Indians who lived in Goochland near the Falls and this group retained their village identity only for a short time into the eighteenth century.

PART II

AMHERST IN THE ERA OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

"Both sides of the Fluvanna below the second fork beginning at the creek on the north side called Buffalo Island." Original land grant to Dr. William Cabell, first patent in Old Amherst County, May 6, 1731. (1?)

"Thus they [the Virginia settlers of the early eighteenth century] have good natural notions, and will soon learn arts and sciences; but are generally diverted by business or inclination from profound study and prying into the depth of things...through their quick apprehensions, they have a sufficiency of knowledge, and fluency of tongue, though their learning for the most part be superficial. They are more inclinable to read men by business and conversation than to dive into books..." (Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, 1724) (2?)

"The traders...import so many negroes that I fear this colony will sometime or other be confounded by the name of New Guinea. I am sensible to many bad consequences of multiplying these Ethiopians amongst us...The (the Negroes) base tempers require to be ridden with a taut rein, or they will be apt to throw their riders..." (William Byrd II, Diary, 1730s.) (4?)

Evaluation of Estate of Cornelius Thomas: 30 slaves (£1450); livestock and commercial goods (ca. £310); personal furnishings and luxury items (ca. £175 including walnut chairs, featherbeds, looking glasses, china bowls, silver tea spoons, fiddles); and books (ca. £6 including twelve volumes of Smollett's History of England, Conquest of Mexico, and Latin and English dictionaries). Total worth of estate in excess of £1,940 English money. Inventory, personal effects of 1775) (5?)

CHAPTER III

TO THE BLUE RIDGE

Colonial Affairs Prior to the Initial Survey of Old Amherst (1727-1728)

The Virginia Company began to learn about their new country almost immediately. Within a week of landing in 1607, a party of 23 headed up the James River to Powhatan's capital. They were curious to discover the source of Powhatan's copper since they knew that this mineral was not mined in the Tidewater. As settler Gabriel Archer put it, they asked Powhatan "Where they got their Copper and their Iron and how many day Iornye it was to Monocanah." () Powhatan put them off since the Monocans were his enemies; he claimed that the English would be too tired and would suffer from lack of food if they tried to make the trip. so the expedition was temporarily delayed.

In 1608 Captain Christopher Newport did travel 40 miles beyond the falls in search of copper, but returned virtually empty-handed even though he found two in what is now Goochland County (). And in subsequent years, as the small and sparsely settled English community had more than it could handle with the Powhatan confederacy no further attempts were made to reconnoiter the land further west.

Powhatan and the English signed a peace treaty in 1609. In return for support against the Monocans, Powhatan agreed to cede a certain amount of land and to supply one bushel of corn from every Indian household to the colonists. () The colonists' failure to provide military support was one of the first of many frauds perpetrated by the Europeans against the Indians. In 1614 another peace treaty reestablished relatively harmonious relations after a period of confrontation; although Powhatan never broke this *modus vivendi*, both sides recognized that the truce was nothing more than a breathing spell.

The colonials proceeded to strengthen their position and by 1612 Henrico had been established at Farrar's Island. The introduction of slaves and the establishment of representative government in 1619 further indicated the resolve of the colonists to remain in Virginia. The indentured servants plan, enacted into law in 1619, brought many people to Virginia; so, too, did the headright system by which 50 acres of land was granted to a sponsor for

each person transported to and settled in Virginia. The granting of land and the headright system was fairly simple: a settler appeared in court to present proof of bringing others into the colony; usually only a statement was needed. The certificate of headright was then sent to the Secretary in the capital and he subsequently presented the formal documents to the county surveyor. Two copies of the patent were delivered: one to the settler and one to the governor. ()

There was almost complete peace between 1614 (when John Rolfe married Pocahontas) and 1633, but when Opechancanough, Powhatan's half-brother, succeeded to the leadership of the Tidewater Confederacy he was determined to dislodge the English. The massacre in 1622 engineered by Opechancough convinced the colonists to subjugate the confederacy as quickly as possible, but this took until 1646, when the broken Algonquins finally accepted tributary status.

While the Tidewater had been almost completely mapped, the colonists' conception of the land to the west at mid-century was vague, if not inaccurate. For instance, in 1650 the prominent English cartographer, John Farrar, stated that California was only 10 days march from the westernmost settlement on the James.

() And although Mowchemko was still inhabited by Monocans, the English do not seem to have gathered any geographical information from them. The Dutch, in fact, had exploited the central Piedmont much more effectively than had the English, but the latter's interest in this area increased proportionately as the Powhatans decreased in number and in economic vitality. By 1669, the Powhatans numbered only one-third the strength of the Confederacy of 1607. ()

The restoration of the Stuart monarch to England in 1660 provided a strong stimulus for land speculation. Many royalists received charters for an enormous number of acres: Lord Baltimore, a charter to Maryland; Lord Fairfax, a charter to the Northern Neck of Virginia. The Earl of Shaftesbury, an influential member of the government, was involved in establishing the new colony of Carolina. In order to map this domain and to discover its natural resources, he and Governor Berkeley interested the German physician, John Lederer, in exploring the area. Lederer made three trips into western Virginia, thus helping to shift attention to the southwest.

Lederer, William Harris, and five Indians arrived at Mowchemko in May 1670. There they were told of the two major paths: one leading to Mahoc and the other to Nayssan. They spurned both and tried to head due west. In fact, they were afraid of the Monocans, in part because their guide was a Susquehannock. () From his map it appears that Lederer crossed the James into Old Amherst west of Mahoc, perhaps north of Buffalo Station and south of the Tye river. From there he perhaps crossed back at Allen Creek. () Lederer is very definite about the absence of villages in the territory covered during the four days after leaving Buckingham; it seems to indicate the success of the Iroquois in depopulating this Monocan territory. ()

Lederer eventually made his way to the new Monocan sites. He cites the central Virginia Indians as being the Mahoc, Nuntaneuck, Nahyssan (probably formerly Monahassanoes), Sapony (formerly Monasukapanoes), Meipontsky, Managog, Mangoaks (Manahoac), Akenatzy, and Monocans (Mowchemko). () The Monocans (Yesa) seem to have recovered somewhat since Lederer states that they had managed to establish a commercial route to Florida to obtain pearls. () The Nahyssans said that they had been fighting the English for the last ten years (or since the raid against the Pamunkeys in 1656).

In 1671 another expedition reached the Monocans. Captain Thomas Batts, Robert Fallam, John Wesson, and an Appomattox Indian guide reached the Hanohaskie town (most likely the same as Lederer's Nahyssan) on the Staunton River. Thomas Wood, another member of the party, remained in the area for about one month, but unfortunately never wrote any account of the Monocans. () Batts and Fallam also reached Moneton, where they found a great number of Indians. () William Byrd I was likewise in the area in 1671 as he had established a trading post at the Falls of the James. () And the original trailblazer, Abraham Wood, made contact with the Cherokees in 1673, which opened up a major southwestern artery of trade and helped to establish the central Piedmont as a way-station in the eighteenth century. ()

All maps of Virginia followed Captain John Smith's until 1673 when Augustin Herrmann, a Bohemian merchant in New Amsterdam, published a revision. What he had to say about the James River frontier could certainly discourage settlement: "The land between the James River and the Roanoke is for the most parts Low Sunken Swampy Land not well

passable but with great difficulty. And therein harbour Tygers, Bears and other Devouringe Creatures" () Still, the hunger for land could not be satisfied and in 1690 the treasury right system was introduced. Five shillings would purchase fifty acres; to obtain as much as 500 acres, one had to have five or more tithable servants (that is, people who are counted for purposes of taxation). The land had to be "seated" within three years or the estate was forfeited. Seating meant that some type of building (even hog shed sometimes qualified) had to be erected and that a minimal amount of clearing and planting had to be carried out. If the land granted was situated on the frontier, the system required the grantee to provide four well-armed men and to pay an annual rent, two shillings for every 50 acres - the quitrent - to the king.

By 1706 the General Assembly passed a prohibition on grants of over 4,000 acres but this law could be circumvented. If one had the proper contacts in the royal family, at court, or with the colonial elite, virtually limitless land grants were obtainable. The most popular method among colonists was to acquire large grants through Orders in Council -- patents authorized by the upper house of the colonial legislature. Land speculators with access to ready capital would acquire large tracts to sell as blocks to small farmers or to rent. Sometimes the proprietors would settle their land with indentured servants and slaves and collect the profits as absentee landlords.

Colonial orientation toward expansion in the Piedmont had been essentially defensive and trade-oriented before the administration of Governor Spotswood. Settlers began to move beyond the fall line about 1700 and four years later the General Assembly provided for a fourteen-year monopoly of Indian trade for anyone discovering "any town or nation of Indians; situate or inhabiting to the westward or between the Appalachian Mountains. () In the meantime the French planned the conquest of the Old Dominion. () As the French became more imperialistic and made inroads into the interior, the British moved to protect what they considered to be their property.

Alexander Spotswood became governor of Virginia in 1710, a crucial time in the Anglo-French rivalry. One of his main interests was the opening of the west - if for no other reason then to check French expansion. The governor popularized western settlement by his expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe across the Blue Ridge in 1716.

Spotswood also helped to stabilize the value of tobacco exports by the Tobacco Act of 1713 and to reform land transactions by the Land Act of 1710. The Governor was also instrumental in negotiating the 1722 treaty with the Iroquois which removed the last obstacle to the settlement of Old Amherst. The Reverend Hugh Jones, in his book The Present State of Virginia (1924) stated that there was more change in Spotswood's time "than in the whole century before his government." () He speaks of this tenure as a "Prosperous administration, glorious for himself, and advantageous both for the crown and the plantation (i.e., Virginia)...whilst that colony was honoured with such an excellent governor; whilst that governor was happy in such a flourishing large and fertile colony." ()

Jones' book provides the most detailed account of colonial attitudes and conditions before the settlement of Old Amherst. () Jones had mixed feelings about the opening of the Appalachians since the promise of expansion was coupled with the risk of further embroilment with the French: "But to prevent more mischief of this kind, providence has secured us from this by a continuous ridge of vast high hills, called the Appalachian Mountains...which mountains through the care and conduct of the Honorable Colonel Spotswood are secured for his Majesty, though not guarded as yet; which might easily be done to the great safety and encouragement of back settlements in a vast rich country westward of the settlements of Virginia." ()

Much has been written about the Plantation Society and its seventeenth-eighteenth-century baronial estates. This social elite, however, number no more than 350 families. By 1724 the population of the new colony had grown to 43,877, with the western regions increasing at a rate five times that of the east. () At most, these settlers had only a few hundred acres each, but they formed the backbone of the Old Dominion, as Virginia was beginning to be called, and they made possible the expansion of the frontier.

Who were these settlers? A myth has grown that most Englishmen in Virginia were scions of the aristocracy and the Cavaliers of Charles I in the English Civil War, while in fact all classes (except for the upper levels of the aristocracy) were represented. Some of the leading families (e.g., Fitzhugh, Carter, Byrd, Randolph, and Harrison) were descended from Cavalier exiles who arrived after 1650, but for the most part the social spectrum mirrored that of England: country magnates, middling planters, small farmers, artisans, traders, tenants and servants - all and

duplicating the pattern of English provincial society. Then, too, there were the Scots, the Scots-Irish, the French Huguenots, the Rhineland Germans, indentured servants.

Of the leading colonial families, the Randolphs led the advance up the James. Following them came young men from the Tidewater aristocracy as land speculators or as managers of their father's estates; some came to increase their own economic standing. There were also those of great influence on the frontier who seldom resided there but made their desires known from England or from Williamsburg (many of the latter were members of the Virginia Council, the governor's advisory group). There were men but recently arrived from England who quickly accumulated wealth and power through shrewd foresight and hard-driving business transactions. And there were the clergy, traders, hunters, lawyers, teachers, doctors, and the like. However, most of the vanguard during the first third of the eighteenth century was composed of planters. Expansion was rapid, and in 1728 a new county, Goochland, was carved out of Henrico; in 1744 Albemarle (including what is now Amherst and Nelson) was formed out of a part of Goochland. The influx of immigrants continued unabated. By 1745 Old Amherst was composed of at least ten ethnic groups comprising three races: the Europeans, the Indians, and the Africans.

At the lowest end of the social scale in the early Piedmont was the indentured servant. Though not common in eighteenth-century Virginia, Dr. William Cabell for one introduced quite a few into Old Amherst in the 1740s (). Indentured servants were procured in two ways. The most common practice for an impoverished European seeking a better life in the New World was to hire himself out for a three-year contract. These voluntary arrangements were either made with the shipmaster, who sold the contract to the highest bidder upon landing, or were redemptions, which meant that the servant had to secure a contract within a few days of his arrival to pay for his transportation. () Others came unwillingly, either sent to the colonies in lieu of serving prison sentences, or "spirited" to Virginia by unscrupulous merchants. These "spirited," as they were known, were invariably kidnapped () although often they were plied with liquor to take the immediate sting out of their travail. Once the contract had been signed, it rarely mattered whether the servant was willing or

unwilling to temporarily forfeit his freedom. A servant had legal redress against flagrant abuse, but if for any reason he failed to live up to the letter of his contract, his (or her) contract labor period could be doubled or worse.

By the time of the Revolution, indentured servitude had virtually ceased to exist because of the much greater profitability of slavery and the decline of oceanic white migrations. For many immigrant servants, however, the experience was a useful one since they received severance pay, acquired useful skills, and were often deeded property. On the frontier, servant status rarely carried a social stigma beyond the term of service and some former servants climbed the ladder to fame and fortune. Charles Lynch, a notable example who later owned land in Old Amherst, eventually became a justice of the peace in Albemarle and was the most prominent planter in present-day Bedford and Campbell counties.

The character of indentured servitude gradually changed to embrace the native poor of a locality rather than recent immigrants. Bastard children, orphans, and children of destitute parents could all be bound out. They also received legal protection and were recognized more as apprentices to a trade or the church vestry, the administrative body of the Anglican church in all counties, was responsible for their welfare. The vestry provided for these children by allocating to them a fixed percentage of their budget, which sometimes amounted to as much as one-third of the total church expenditures. ()

Part of the motivation for providing support was altruism, but the counties recognized that a destitute mass of unsupervised poor white could lead to social dislocation. () Annual reports had to be made to the justices of the peace sitting as an orphans' court. Guardians of orphans were legally required to teach their wards reading and writing. By a 1748 law, all indentured males up to the age of 21 and all women to the age of 18 were to be taught a "suitable" trade or employed in some fashion. () Practice did not always conform to legal edict, but the success of these efforts was perhaps borne out by the absence of any evidence of widespread servant unrest in Old Amherst.

There were many Welshmen in Old Amherst, but other than by recognizable names, they seemed to have blended effortlessly into English society. The Scots were recognized as a separate entity only if they were the agents, or factors, of the various Scottish mercantile concerns. Planter resentment against those Scots grew in intensity because they were obligated to collect debts from recalcitrant landowners. The colonial

records of Old Amherst are replete with reference to debt collection cases. Some of these agents may have been truly usurious, but others certainly were blamed simply for doing their jobs. Scottish immigration and trade in the colonies were facilitated by the Act of Union with England in 1707, but declined after the Revolution. The planters may have had more economic self-determination after the war, but the economy of Virginia was long in recovering from the absence of Scottish entrepreneurs. Very few Irish from south of Ulster came to Old Amherst, since widespread Irish emigration to America occurred only in the mid-nineteenth century. The Scots-Irish of Northern Ireland, however, were second only to the English among influential European groups in Old Amherst.

The Scots-Irish covered more ground than any other ethnic group before reaching the Virginia Piedmont. Originally inhabiting the Scottish lowlands, they were brought by James I to colonize Northern Ireland after 1610. The "Irish Problem" had vexed English authorities for centuries and the only methods the English could think of to deal with the situation were warfare and colonization. After a particularly severe campaign conducted in the waning years of Elizabeth I's reign, the Irish population had been substantially reduced. King James, looking for a suitable means to unite the disparate realms of Ireland, Scotland, and England, decided that transplanting Scots into Ireland would simultaneously improve the economic lot of some of his Scottish subjects and check any possible insurrection by the disaffected Ulster Irish. The example of Jamestown was an additional inspiration for the colonization scheme. By 1717, the Scots-Irish were ready to move on for a number of reasons. Irish imports and exports were being strangled by British mercantilist policy, () rack rents were squeezing the Scots-Irish from their lands, Anglican religious discrimination was hindering the free observance of Presbyterianism, and droughts were ruining Irish agriculture. () Enticed by the promise of ample farms and religious freedom, the Scots-Irish began to emigrate to Pennsylvania in large numbers.

Between 1717 and the American Revolution, some 250,000 Ulstermen came to America. () Arriving in the ports of Philadelphia, Chester, and New Castle, the Scots-Irish fanned out into southeastern Pennsylvania. Successive tides of immigration brought the assertive Ulstermen into conflict with their Quaker hosts, and many began moving south into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to acquire property in less crowded

domains. Their first settlements were made in the Valley in 1732, and a steady influx continued after 1736. The first Presbyterian church was organized in western Virginia in 1740. () The heaviest concentration of Virginia Scots-Irish occurred in Rockbridge and Augusta counties adjacent to Old Amherst. Some families spilled across the Blue Ridge through Rockfish Gap into Amherst. An examination of the names of settlers in the Rockfish Valley for this time period clearly indicates that the bulk of the population was Scots-Irish. Governor William Gooch of Virginia encouraged their settlement as a means of establishing a buffer between the French in the Old Northwest and the English colonists in central Virginia.

In America the Scots-Irish held tenaciously to many elements of their culture. The austere Calvinism of John Knox's Presbyterianism marked all settlements made by the Ulstermen. The beginnings of the Great Awakening of 1738 was temporarily to add an evangelical strain to their religion, but the lasting impact of that movement was the development of colleges to train an American clergy in pure Presbyterianism. It was not until late in the eighteenth century that Presbyterian education moved much beyond the confines of strictly religious instruction. Scots-Irish literature, philosophical speculation, and intellectual pursuits in general were rare until after the Revolution.

The cultural isolation of the Ulstermen fostered a highly conscious sense of individualism that opposed absolute government, cultural interference and land speculation. This individualism had certain negative results in that the Scots-Irish were prone to grow contentious with their neighbors, enthusiastically adopted violence when they believed their interests were threatened, and constantly resorted to litigation. On the other hand, their self-assertion meant they would brook no attempts at oppression, and their geographical location --the markets of the Virginia Ulstermen were in Annapolis and Philadelphia rather than the Virginia Chesapeake - encouraged a more cosmopolitan American outlook in lieu of strictly sectional preoccupation. ()

Another displaced population group in Old Amherst was the French Huguenots. When Louis XIV revoked the Treaty of Nantes in 1685, these Protestants fled to the English possessions seeking freedom of conscience. One of the first settlements in modern Goochland was carved out between 1699 and 1701 by the emigres at the site of Mowchemko. After 1730, their cultural homogeneity began to dissolve, but many persons of French ancestry moved westward into the Piedmont. Most of these pioneers had

come from Piedmont. Most of these pioneers had come from upper-class French families and would contribute much to Virginia society. By the time of the establishment of Amherst County, they were being assimilated into English plantation society.

Rhineland Germanic peoples round out the picture of European settlers in Old Amherst. Colonial records rarely distinguish between German-and-Dutch speaking immigrants, so it is virtually impossible to know if a specific individual was from what are today Holland, Germany or Switzerland. The German states in the seventeenth century had been helpless pawns in the imperial machinations of various European rulers. First the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) had devastated the landscape, and then the invasion of Louis XIV into the Palatinate of southwest Germany completed the social dislocation. Many Protestants escaped to America to avoid Catholic suzerainty, while others left simply to escape the turmoil. Poor German farmers were also lured by the blandishments of land speculators seeking tenants. The latter were often procured as indentured servants. ()

In 1709 Baron Christophe de Graffenreid proposed to Virginia authorities a Swiss colony on the Potomac. This was eventually relocated to the community of Germanna in Spotsylvania County in 1714 by Governor Spotswood. Spotswood had envisioned Germanna as the northern complement to Fort Christanna in his system of frontier buffer zones. Most of the settlers were not Swiss, but were from a German province called Nassau-Sieger. Spotswood planned for these Germans to work his iron mines. Hugh Jones reported that the Germans were also "encouraged to make wines." () By the 1720s, however, the Palatinates were thoroughly resentful of what they perceived as the governor's exploitation, and moved northwest into the area of Madison County. In 1735 these Germans were exempted from church levies and had established a settled community with their own social and ecclesiastical structure. Some of them may well have settled in Old Amherst.

The "Madison County Germans" were not the only ones who may have crossed over into Amherst. Samuel Tsecheffeley brought a large contingent in the 1720s under aegis of William Byrd II to settle the region along the North Carolina border.

Other German communities were organized as a result of southward movement from Pennsylvania into Rockbridge and Augusta. () Moravian itinerant frequently passed up and down the Shenandoah Valley, but Governor Gooch was suspicious of their efforts of proselytize the Lutherans and Reformed Germans who comprised the majority of Virginia Rhineland Germans, so he discouraged their settlement in the colony and most ended up in North Carolina.

It is difficult to trace the origins of the Amherst Germans for the reasons aforementioned; this problem is compounded by the fact that after 1750 no German documents were entered into official records. () Some observers thought no Germans could be found in areas such Amherst. Isaac Weld stated a representative view: "It is singular, that although they (the Germans) form three-fourths of the inhabitants of the western side of the Blue Ridge, yet not one of them is to be met on the eastern side...They have many time, I am told, crossed the Blue Ridge to examine the land, but the red soil which they found there was different from what they were accustomed to, and the injury it was exposed to from the mountain torrents, always appeared to them an insuperable obstacle to settling that part of the country." () The German minister Paul Henkel echoed these sentiments: " our course took us through old Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge. For eight days we travelled in a strange land." (42)

This testimony is misleading since not only do many German names occur in the Amherst records, but there are constant references to an intriguing community known as Nassau on Rucker' Run and a stream by the name of Dutch Creek. Unfortunately, available deed records shed no light on an organized German neighborhood in either area, and one must assume that the names derived from tenants of the property owners George Braxton, William Randolph, John Harmer, and Walter King, who owned vast tracts of land in both areas. The commercial firm of Harmer & King was the likely agent for the settlement of these Germans, since it had the capital to import immigrants and the desire to settle its real estate with tenants. Also, Reverend Robert Rose's acquaintance with Governor Spotswood suggests the likelihood of some connection between him and the Madison and Spotsylvania Nassauans, and the Germans of Amherst.

Another reason for the lack of reference to Germans in the official records of Old Amherst can be found in the lifestyle of the German

communities. Unlike the Scots-Irish, the Germans abhorred struggle and litigation with their neighbors. They were, on the whole, a very pacific and self-contained people content with establishing orderly homesteads and developing agriculture and livestock breeding. They were further distinguished from their Scots-Irish neighbors by love for fine crafts. They were employed in pre-industrial pursuits. The Nassuans were fine craftsmen and were employed in pre-industrial occupations such as cloth weaving. Terms such as "dutch overs" and "dutch blankets" can frequently be found in Old Amherst inventories. The people of Nassau studiously avoided involvement either in politics or large-scale plantation economy. Few held slaves. In this respect they resembled the Quakers who resided in Old Amherst near Lynchburg. The Quakers were largely from the British Isles, but shared the German inclinations in opposing slavery, living quietly to themselves, and ascribing to Enlightenment ideals.

All of the European inhabitants of western Virginia were referred to by the "tuckahoes" of the Tidewater as "cohees," probably from the dialect of the area which rendered "quothe" in that fashion. Trying to establish the proportional representation of the ethnic groups comprising these "cohees" is difficult. Many names were anglicized and the official records do not list all settlers. The sociologist, R. Bennett Bean, is one who has ventured the attempt. In his list of old distinguished Virginia families, Bean compiled the following figures: English, 43.5 percent; Scots, 15.4 percent; Irish, 16.5 percent; Welsh, 12.6 percent; German 9.9 percent; and French, 2.1 percent. For the population at large, the figures are English, 40.6 percent; Scots, 27.3 percent; German, 9.1 percent; Welsh, 8.4 percent; Irish, 8.1 percent; French 6.3 percent; and others 1.2 percent. ()

One can trace the varying size and importance of ethnic groups through Bean's analysis of county population in Henrico, Goochland, Albemarle, Amherst, and Nelson. In 1705, Henrico was composed of 40 percent Scots and Germans, 34 percent English. () Goochland has in its early history 33.7 percent English; 30.6 percent Scots; 14.0 percent German; 15.3 percent French; 51.1 percent Welsh; and 1.3 percent Irish. () Early Albemarle settlers consisted of 54.6 percent English; 23.7 percent Scots; 13.1 percent German; 16.7 percent Welsh; 16.6 percent Irish and 5.3 percent French. () In early Amherst Bean concludes that the percentage of English was less than half that of Tidewater Virginia. The early settlers included 37.9 percent English; 35.5 percent Scots; 6.5 percent German; 12.4 percent

Welsh; 3.6 percent Irish; and 41 percent French out of 169 names examined. () In Nelson county the figures show roughly the same proportion as the Tidewater except that the Germans were fewer and the Irish more numerous. The Nelson statistics are 46.1 percent English; 26.4 percent Scots; 8.5 percent German; 5.7 percent Welsh; 9.5 percent French; 3.8 percent Irish out of a sample of 106 names. (). This maze of figures is somewhat illustrative of the background of those individual Europeans who forged Old Amherst society.

A census of Amherst County Indians is virtually impossible since they seldom appear in the official records. Mention has been made of the possibility of surviving remnants of tribes in the mountains. Some planters may have brought in Indians

from other counties. A third source of these Indians would be prisoners of war. In any case, although there are a few references to Indian servants, the population was likely minute. A 1705 law somewhat murkily defined the status of Indians, but it was not until 1777 that slavery of Indians was definitely prohibited. () There is no reference to Indian slaves in the Amherst records. After 1723 tributary Indians were excluded from the list of tithables. All other Indian men and women were exempt from taxation after 1769. ()

In contrast to the Indians, the Africans were very numerous in Old Amherst and were better recorded since they were the mainstay of the plantation economy. The slave trade itself was a mammoth operation involving Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English shippers. However, in comparison to the total number of slaves imported, those who reach the British mainland colonies were relatively few, comprising only 12 percent of the entire Western Hemisphere market. ()

The first slaves, a few dozen, came to Virginia by chance in 1619 - and by a Dutch man-of-war, not an English vessel. By the late seventeenth century the number had grown and the Royal African Company, formed in 1672, controlled most of the trade for the next sixteen years. After that more and more interlopers cut into their monopoly.

Slaving reached its peak in the eighteenth century (1710-1769), and while the greater number of ships came from the West Indies or other Caribbean colonies, these deposited only a few dozen slaves at one time; the greater number of slaves (86 percent) came from Africa. It is estimated that 53,500 slaves were imported into Virginia during this time, () with a mean loss of 23 percent. () Philip Curtin, whose study of the slave trade, "The Atlantic Slave Trade," is the most authoritative work available,

believes some 275,000 slaves were brought into British North America by 1790. Indeed, before 1770 more Africans than Europeans arrived in the Americas. () For example, in 1730, the Negro population of Virginia was 30,000 versus 84,000 whites. () But the proportion of blacks grew greater due to imports and to the natural increase of the slaves which outdistanced white birthrates by two to one.

Most of the slaves, of course, were kidnapped or were prisoner-of-war and were procured not only by European slavers, but also by local African chiefs or Arab caravans. The tribal homelands of the blacks changed over the years as well. Local supply conditions, the demands of the slave dealers, periods of warfare, local political events - even periods of war and peace in Europe - all influenced where the slavers traded. () Between the years 1710-1760 the following African homelands were represented in Virginia: Senegambia, 14.9 percent; Gold Coast, 16.0 percent; Bight of Biafra (Nigeria, Niger Delta and Gabon), 37.7 percent; the Windward Coast, 6.3 percent; Sierra Leone, 5.3 percent; Angola, 15.7 percent and Mozambique, 4.1 percent. () Within this frame, some of the actual tribes included the Akan, the Fon, the Gun, the Ibok and the Angolans. () Virginia planters seemed to have some preference for slaves from Senegambia and Bight of Biafra, but they were not as concerned as planter in other colonies who believed that work habits varied from tribe to tribe. Thus efforts to maintain tribal identity were doomed from the beginning. Slaves sold at the market, usually at a Chesapeake port, were grouped in no particular tribal order, and it was not unusual for families to be separated. The first generation, it is true, had at least one indelible link to their homeland which was the tribal marking by ritual scarification. These "outlandish" Africans, as they were referred to often ran off shortly after arriving at their master's plantation, but they were invariable recaptured.

Most of the on-going African trade was conducted by small planters, commercial establishments, speculators, and artisans. After establishing their plantations large planters generally relied on natural increase. The trading season was fairly short, lasting from late spring to the end of the summer, for it was believed that cold climate was lethal for the Africans, and new field hands were worked generally only in the last harvest of the year following purchase. ()

Slavery was an expensive undertaking for the owners, but was seen as essential for making a profit out of the tobacco fields. Even when slavery was not economically feasible, blacks were purchased to provide the amenities of gracious living and were universally regarded as status symbols among even the poorest of the whites. An examination of Amherst

inventories shows almost without exception that slaves comprised the bulk of wealth for the upper middle class. Except for Germans, Quakers, and the exceptional individual who held slavery to be so degrading or so unprofitable that he refused to resort to slave labor, everyone who could afford to had at least one slave. Slave owners had a mixture of compassion and economic incentive for treating their slaves well. Thus the master assumed the dual role of patriarch and estate manager. ()

Of all of the peoples arriving in Old Amherst, the African tribesmen made by far the hardest adjustment to life in the Piedmont. The first six months of "breaking in" may very well have been the worst. The language barrier immeasurably increased the African's sense of helplessness and it was not until some half-dozen months elapsed that their knowledge of English had developed to such a degree as to facilitate communications with owners, overseers, and even fellow slaves. () Eventually, as the eighteenth century historian Hugh Jones commented, some African slaves came to speak the king's English as well as the aristocracy. Education of slaves, though, was increasingly frowned on as subversive to the social order.

Hugh Jones made some interesting comments on Virginia slave culture which probably apply in large measure to Old Amherst. Slaves live in quarters (cottages), usually six to a unit. Jones admitted that the Negroes were most worried about not being "at their own liberty," but claimed they were much better off than their compatriots in Africa () a familiar refrain for slavery apologists. Children of Negroes and white were classified as mulattoes while children of blacks and Indians were mustees. Jones noted that all Negro males above the age of 16, and all Negro and mulatto women over the age of fifteen were subject to taxation by a 1705 law. In 1723 free negroes and mulattoes were added to the tax roles. Free negro and mulatto women, however, were exempted in 1769. () If Jones's view of Indians was unsympathetic, he was totally critical of African culture and compared blacks invidiously to the Indians. The problem of social order loomed large for Jones as it did for all planters, and he pointedly cites one of the principal functions of the colonial militia as keeping the Negroes in line. County authorities provided most of the military deterrent against slave insubordination through drafted patrollers whose functions were to reclaim runaways and break up unauthorized slave gatherings.

Some slaves were relatively better off than others. Skilled Negroes and

especially mulattoes were employed in craft work. Slave artisans were of four types: regular slaves, those apprenticed to a trade in the fashion of poor whites, hired-out slaves, and those who were allowed to make their own labor contracts in return for a fixed percentage of their wages. Governor Francis Fauquier reported to the Board of Trade that "every gentleman of much prosperity in land and negroes have some of their own negroes bred up in the trade of blacksmiths, and make axes, hoes, ploughshares, and such kind of coarse work for the use of their plantations." () Secretary John Carter, who held much land in Amherst, had Negro artisans as carpenters, coopers and sawyers. ()

All Negroes, including artisans, house servants, mulattoes, and even free Negroes, led a precarious existence. For many the danger of running away was well worth the risk. () Occasionally slaves would flee as a result of rumors that a new governor was coming to free them. More often, slaves left their plantations when the opportunity was ripe and internal security was lax. A threatened slave revolt in 1723 led to new curbs on Negro activity, but there was no deterrent that could prevent all outbursts. In 1727 a band of slaves escaped from the Falls of the James and hid out in an area near Old Amherst outside modern Lexington. Fifteen slaves with eleven guns established a village there called des Natanapalle. After a pitched battle in the Blue Ridge in 1729, the slaves were recaptured and their crops were destroyed. () The frontier area of Old Amherst must have been a promising haven for slave conspirators since its isolation and the sanctuary afforded by the Blue Ridge made recovery of runaways very difficult.

Old Amherst was free from slave insurrections before the Revolution, but the possibility meant that vigilance was seldom relaxed. Amherst did have its problems with individual slaves throughout the colonial period. The potential danger of slave risings meant that the various white ethnic groups and social classes were much more unified in Old Amherst than they might have been without racial concerns.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMATION OF OLD AMHERST:

INDIVIDUAL FRONTIER SETTLERS AND ENTREPRENEURS

The geography of Old Amherst dictated to some degree the nature of its settlement patterns. Immigrants from the east had no natural thoroughfares to direct them to the regions. The early orientation of the county was north-south rather than east-west because all of the rivers except the James, the natural highway carrying settlers, flowed in that direction. This north-south perspective was reinforced by the points of origins of the pioneers. The English mainly came from the east and settled along the James and the southern half of the Rockfish, and Tye basins. The Scots-Irish arrived from the north and occupied the mountains and northern Rockfish Valley. Both groups advanced early from these bases into modern Amherst. The western movement was accelerated by the establishment of Campbell County and the growth of Lynchburg as a commercial metropolis. As areas to the east and south filled up, underpopulated areas elsewhere were developed.

Numerous mountains and creeks caused further fragmentation of communities. While natural formations such as Loving's Gap opened up new areas in the center of the region, at the same time, they physically segregated communities from each other. A few high mountains disrupted communication as well. Modern Amherst embraces Mount Pleasant at 4,098 feet high, Bald Knob over 4,000 feet, Bluff Mountain over 3,000 feet, and Highco and Tobacco Row mountains both exceeding 2,800 feet. In modern Nelson, the Priest complex of mountains is of equivalent height to the formations in Amherst.

River frontage and creek bottoms were the most desirable lands from the point of view of agriculture and communication. Except where marshes prevailed, these areas were settled rapidly. Often entire creeks and substantial portions of riverine acreage were bought up by a few men. Later and poorer settlers were forced to take the less arable and more remote properties. Although all settlements were scattered, communities

generally took two forms. In the south, where prosperous English landowners prevailed, settlements radiated out from a central plantation. Communities of Scots-Irish and middling families were less congruent and more lineal. The large manor houses and churches were the only real focal points of broader community life. The quality and topography of the land dictated occupations and economic prosperity and social status. The political and social leaders of Old Amherst invariably were prosperous landowners and usually were tobacco farmers. Their success in Amherst was due to accumulated capital, to early arrival in the region, and/or prominent political and family connections. Social mobility was in some evidence during the early years, but a substantial number of Old Amherst leaders had been prominent elsewhere. At the time of the creation of Amherst county in 1761, social structure and family leadership were already well established. The saga of the earliest settlers in Old Amherst is a story of determination and initiative. To understand the region and its place in colonial Virginia, one must understand those original entrepreneurs who forged the civilization of Old Amherst before 1745.

Of all the original settlers, Dr. William Cabell deserves primary consideration. Others may have traversed the region earlier, but Cabell brought the Amherst area to the attention of the outside world. Cabell also patented and settled the first land in Old Amherst, which effectively opened the entire territory to development. And finally, Cabell set the tone, style, and substance for all the ensuing history of Old Amherst. His politics, lifestyle, economic pursuits, and even family dominated the county up through 1808 and inspired others to emulate his successes. If any one man can be considered the father of Old Amherst, Dr. William Cabell most assuredly merits the title.

William Cabell was born in the Parish of Warminster outside the trading center of Bristol. His family had aristocratic connections, but his parents were of the middle class.^{68?} Cabell grew up on the estate of Bugley and chose a career in medicine. He most likely practiced as a ship's doctor. The earliest record of Cabell in Virginia lists him as a deputy sheriff in St. James Parish of Henrico county in 1726.^{69?} He married Elizabeth Burks at this time and settled on Licking Hole Creek in what became Goochland County. Almost from the beginning, it seems, Cabell was interested in carving out a frontier fiefdom, and he probably entered the area of Old

Amherst as early as 1728.^{70?} It would be fascinating to know what impelled him to choose Old Amherst as his desired home, but the record is mute on that point. In any case, Cabell surveyed a twenty-mile stretch of land between present-day Howardsville and Riverville from 1730 to 1734.⁷¹ His first land was acquired through an Order in Council in 1731, and in 1733 he entered a plat for 6,320 acres. From 1729 to 1735, Cabell served as a Justice of the Peace for Goochland, which gave him the political clout necessary to pursue his ambitious real estate ventures.

The 1731 grant lay on Swan Creek, an area only fully surveyed in 1737 by William Mayo. On one of his excursions to survey the land, Indians robbed Cabell of all he carried. The doctor escaped narrowly with his life by cleverly explaining that he was only trying to find his way back east. Family business called him back to England in 1735. He returned in 1741, but by then other investors had followed his lead.

George Carrington (1711-1785) managed Cabell's affairs while the latter visited England.^{72?} Along with Elizabeth Cabell, Carrington sold some of the original Cabell tract to William Megginson, another Goochland justice. But trouble dogged Cabell's property. Two men, a Mr. Irvine and Thomas Jones squatted on some of the Swan Creek land and refused to move disputing Cabell's claim to the property. The confusion was compounded by William Mayo, the surveyor. Mayo was the first cousin of the doctor and had arrived from Barbados Island in 1723.^{73?} He was one of the most distinguished cartographers in the colonies, had assisted William Byrd II in running the North Carolina boundary line, and had also mapped out Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck proprietary grant. In 1737, Mayo charted the bounds of what became the city of Richmond. Despite his surveying skills, however, Mayo's entry for Cabell was imprecise, touching off litigation that lasted many year and even outlived Mayo himself. The courts eventually decided in favor of Cabell and the squatters were evicted.

William Cabell's land acquisitions proceeded apace despite these troubles. On September 12, 1738, he acquired a patent for 4,800 acres, and in 1739 received 440 more. Upon his return from England, Cabell bought another 7,952 acres with an additional grant of 1,200 acres in 1743. After the establishment of Albemarle County in 1745, Cabell acquired even more land which totaled at least some twenty thousand acres. After 1741 the doctor transferred his residence to Swan Creek and built a mansion which

was eventually known as Liberty Hall. By 1745 he had established a flourishing frontier community, aided by his slaves and indentured servants.

The most powerful and influential of the early Amherst landowners were the speculators who had no interest in living in the western Piedmont. These included members of the colonial Council, burgesses and international merchants.

The Randolphs were essentially responsible for creating interest among Council members in the west central Piedmont. William Randolph I had purchased the Turkey Island estate in Henrico by 1670. His son Thomas moved west of the Falls to Tuckahoe. Thomas's son William II (1681-1742) was clerk of Henrico (1710-1720), clerk of the House of Burgesses and a member of Council (1728-1742). On May 5, 1738, Randolph and the Bristol merchants John Harmer and Walter King together received 20,000 acres on the Tye and Rockfish rivers.^{74?} Randolph's will bequeathed numerous estates throughout the Piedmont and at least 32 slaves. His son-in-law John Chiswell and nephew William Randolph III inherited property in Old Amherst.^{75?}

William Randolph III, a justice of the peace in Goochland and a member of the House of Burgesses from that county, also had a heavy stake in Amherst. He outlived his uncle, however, by only three years. A codicil to his will stated that "my Will is that my Executors Confirm an agreement made between Colonel Lunsford Lomax and my Self relating to an exchange made by us of some lands, at the War Mountain [southwest Virginia] and Nassau [Rucker's Run] in Amherst property."^{76?;77?} William Randolph III's brother Isham completed this tangled web of Randolph involvement in the formation of Old Amherst. He had a distinguished career both as a sea captain and like others in his family served as a member from Goochland in the House of Burgesses. In December 1738, Isham received a patent for 12,000 acres adjoining William Randolph III, King and Harmer.⁷⁸ He died in 1742, leaving some of his Amherst holdings to his son-in-law Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas.⁷⁹

Even more influential than the Randolphs among early Amherst proprietors was John Carter (1676-1743). Carter was the eldest son of Robert "King" Carter (1663-1732) of Corotoman. King Carter achieved his wealth as business agent of Lord Fairfax. In the process of boosting

Fairfax' fortunes, Robert Carter augmented his own wealth until it included 44 plantations, 300,000 acres and 1,000 slaves centered on his Rappahanock River holdings.⁸⁰ Carter was the wealthiest and most powerful colonial resident of Virginia. His son John received all the benefits that money and status could provide. Educated in England at Trinity College of Cambridge, he studied law at the Middle Temple in London. Before 1722, Carter acted as the Virginia agent in London. He was appointed Secretary for the colony in 1722 and as such selected all county clerks and received fees for all land patents. He was thus in a good position to hear of choice land values all over the colony.

In 1724, Carter was selected to serve on the Council. Like his father, he probably wielded more influence than any other colonial of his generation. On April 23, 1741, a 1738 grant for 10,000 acres was confirmed by the Council on the Buffalo and Piney rivers.⁸¹ Carter was more responsible than any other individual for opening up that section of the county and helped to reduce the overall isolation of the region by promoting road construction. Carter's son Edward, of Blenheim plantation in Albemarle, and later his grandson, Hill Carter (who was the first of the family to actually reside in Old Amherst, at "Wine Hill"), inherited the Amherst property.

Members of the House of Burgesses of various counties competed with the Councilors for land. Among the more notable of these families was the Braxtons of King and Queen County. George Braxton was both a burgess in the 1740s and the brother-in-law of John Carter.⁸² On May 5, 1738, the Council granted 40,000 acres to George Braxton, Sr., George Braxton, Jr., Humphrey Brooke, Robert Brooke, Robert Rose, and Thomas Chew. All of these individuals lived in the Tidewater.

Other Amherst property owners included burgess John Chiswell of Hanover and his father Charles. Charles Chiswell had been a shareholder in Governor Spotswood's Virginia Indian Company and later a clerk of the Spotsylvania court. Both father and son invested in iron mines and brought mining technology to Amherst. In March 1739, the Chiswells acquired 11,140 acres on both sides of the Rockfish stretching into the Blue Ridge. By 1745, this had been increased to 30,000 acres on the branches of Moreman's and Meecham's rivers.⁸³ Lunsford Lomax, a burgess representing Caroline County, took up several thousand acres on a branch of Harris

Creek on January 24, 1745.⁸⁴ Colonel John Bolling a burgess from Henrico at the time Goochland was created, entered 6,000 acres on Bolling's Creek in 1743. In 1745, Bolling purchased the site of what would become the city of Lynchburg.⁸⁵

The Bristol firm of Harmer & King also obtained major holdings in Old Amherst. John Harmer was a burgess from Williamsburg from 1742-1774. Both Harmer and King were on good terms with the Randolphs and through their connections had acquired some 28,000 acres of their own by the 1750. This land extended from Warwick to Gleason's gap, and covered the present-day line of the Elmington railroad to near Arrington, both sides of Rucker's Run to Findlay's Mountain, and much of the Nassau community. Neither man spent much time in the county, and both farmed the land out to tenants.⁸⁶

The last of the substantial proprietors before 1745 were Robert Rose, Charles Lewis, and James Nevil. Rose received his initial grant in 1738 along with friends from Spotsylvania, Caroline, King and Queen,, and Essex. By the time of his death in 1751, he had built an estate of more than 25,000 acres along the Tye Piney and Little Pedlar rivers. Rose did not permanently move to Amherst until 1748. He was involved, however, in internecine litigation with Charles Lewis. Lewis on December 21, 1738, acquired 1,000 acres on the Rockfish. On June 13, 1739, Lewis complained that first Charles Chiswell and then Robert Rose had prevented him from making surveys on his rightful land. William Randolph agreed to recognize Lewis's claim of priority, but Rose resisted the verdict. On June 11, 1740, the Council confirmed Lewis's possession to 2,000 acres at the mouth of Lewis's Creek.

Rose's caveat against this action was finally dismissed in June 1741.⁸⁷ Lewis's son, James and another possible relative, John Lewis, also held land in Old Amherst before 1745.⁸⁸ Captain James Nevil, Sr., (d. 1753) from the Buckingham area had acquired about 8,000 acres at the head of Fendley's Creek, on Joe's Creek, Rucker's Run, and the south fork of the Rockfish in 1742.⁸⁹ By 1747 Nevil (or his son by the same name) had acquired some 3,600 additional acres mainly on the Rockfish with some on the Tye.⁹⁰

A few other early land grants show up in the Council records in the western extreme of Goochland. On November 9, 1738, Richard Clough,

John Key and John Ragland acquired a joint grant of 6,000 acres on the south fork of the James and the Pedlar.⁹¹ Nicholas Davies at the same time obtained three tracts totaling 16,080 acres near Muddy Creek.⁹² Alexander Brown states that in July 1738, Davies and the historian Reverend William Stith entered 10,000 acres on the Fluvanna adjoining John Bolling and George Braxton and associates. Brown adds that in August 1739, another 10,000 acres was obtained adjoining this previous entry. By 1751, Davies held 31,000 acres in Amherst, Buckingham, Appomattox, and Bedford.⁹³ Thomas Harding got a mere 1,300 acres on both sides of Falling Creek adjacent to the Randolph estates in 1739.⁹⁴

Other Council grants possibly refer to Old Amherst, but there is no conclusive evidence. Council land transactions between 1743 and 1760 are missing.⁹⁵ Council members themselves complained that their records were not accurate: "Whereas notwithstanding the repeated Orders of the government that no person not having the license of this Board shall be admitted to enter for more than 400 acres of His Majesty's lands. Yet divers persons of small substances in Contraction with the surveyor made separate Entries for large quantities of land lying contiguous to one another without such License & frequently keep the same...for a long time to the exclusion of other of His Majesties' Subjects who would take up and cultivate the same."⁹⁶

The Nelson historian Alexander Brown, relying on diverse and some now unavailable sources, has listed additional settlers who lived in the area of Old Amherst by 1745. John Anthony held 800 acres on the north side of the Buffalo River [a Quaker family];⁹⁷ Joseph Anthony had more than 200 acres [also a Quaker family]; Joseph and Richard Ballinger in 1743 entered 2,000 acres on the Tobacco Row Mountain and Buffalo River;⁹⁸ William Bradley in 1744 settled 300 acres on the Rocky Branch of Buffalo River; John Burns lived on the Dutch Path "at the place where Captain Lynch's mare died" on 1800 plus acres by Hicory Creek and the Rockfish River⁹⁹; Reverend Samuel Black [d. 1771] Presbyterian minister born in Ireland and ordained at the forks of Brandywine¹⁰⁰; James Christian entered 50 acres next to the Buffalo Islands above the Fluvanna in 1742¹⁰¹; Charlie Christian

held property on Rocky Creek of Buffalo River¹⁰²; Luke Carroll between 1743-1746 entered over 1,400 acres on Stonehouse Creek adjoining Secretary Carter's Tye River land;¹⁰³ Howard Cash purchased 800 acres in 1744 on Stonehouse Creek, Thresher's Creek, and Buffalo River;¹⁰⁴ John Coffey settled on Davis's Creek of Rockfish river on 150 acres, John and James Cown lived near "The Town of Rockfish" in 1745, and James Churchill had land in 1742 on Tye River that was transferred shortly thereafter to Colonel John Henry, Patrick Henry's father.¹⁰⁵

Philip Davis held 1,350 acres in the Blue Ridge in 1742, adjoining Robert Rose, John Dobbins owned 200 acres on Taylor's Creek and the Rockfish River in 1741, and Hugh Dobbins held 250 acres on Owen's Creek, Hugh Dobbins, Jr., possessing property in 1740 on a south branch of the Tye, the Little Mountain, and Castle Creek.¹⁰⁶ George Damril resided on 100 acres on the Rockfish River in 1743;¹⁰⁷ George Dudley bought 100 acres on the Rockfish River in 1744. James Dillard who became a justice in Amherst, was in the area by 1742;¹⁰⁸ James Freeland Sr., and his sons, James and Macall held 668 acres of real estate after 1740;¹⁰⁹ William Floyd was in the region as early as 1740 and by 1746 was living on the Pedlar river.¹¹⁰

Joseph Fane held 200 acres on the Tye in 1745, Henry and James Gass held more than 100 acres in 1740 on the Priest Mountain and on the Piney River "to include Hill's Camp" (?), and Edmond Gray held 3000 acres on Harris before "he ran away."¹¹¹ Daniel and Bernard Gains owned 1000 acres on Harris Creek in 1745;¹¹² Duncan Graham held a large tract near Tobacco Row Mountain about 1745, Major Allen Howard (an Albemarle justice with William Cabell) moved to the Rockfish River in the late 1720s and in the 1730s owned land on both sides of that river.¹¹³ Joseph and Aaron Higgenbotham had settled several thousand acres on the Buffalo River in 1741;¹¹⁴ Colonel John Henry had bought out James Churchill by 1742 and owned his own land to the Tye River River Thoroughfare.¹¹⁵ John Harvie, a prominent lawyer, owned 2400 acres on Buffalo ridge "next to the savannas" and on Harris Creek and Buffalo River in 1745-1746.¹¹⁶ John Harris held 500 acres on Castle Creek of Tye River (old fn 127)*; and Lee Harris bought 400 acres on a branch of Pedlar river in 1745 (old fn 128). Captain John Holman, a relative of the Goochland burgess, held property in 1742 on the Rockfish (old fn 129); Thomas Harbour was a proprietor in

1745 near Tobacco Row Mountain (old fn 130); Thomas Herbert occupied Horsley's Creek of Pedlar river in 1745 (old 131); and ? Holcomb also lived on Horsley's Creek in 1744.

Stephen Jones inhabited "the creek the Dutch lives on" on 750 acres in 1743; (117) Peter Jefferson owned more than 800 acres in 1745 on Thrasher's Creek and Tye River one half mile above Cub Creek including the Elk Forest Lowgrounds (old fn133); Thomas Joplin held 1500 acres in 1743 "on the creek the Dutch lives on" (old fn 133?), Richard Kirby had land in 1742 on the Rockfish River (old fn 135); David, Joseph and John Kincade

[Note from Seaman: At this point the relationship between the footnotes in this chapter and in the "Notes" at the end of the chapter is too difficult to interpret easily. I have left the numbers in place for a future researcher to decipher.]

Joseph and John Kincade lived on the Rockfish in 1744 (118); Gabriel Long owned 500 acres on the north side of the Tye River towards Fendley's Mountain (old 137); Charles Lynch, Bedford burgess (d. 1753), occupied land in 1744 on the Rockfish and Harris creek and in 1747 on Bolling's Creek totaling 2,850 acres.^{119?} John Lackey Sr., and Jr., and James Lackey were living on the Rockfish in 1745; Robert Logan owned 92 acres on the head branches of the Rockfish in 1744; George McDaniel held 200 acres on the branch of the Little Rockfish in 1745; Colonel John Martin "of Ireland" lived on the Rockfish in 1744; Thomas Mills occupied over 535 acres on Dancing Creek while Ambrose Mills owned 1,100 acres in 1745 on Cattail Marsh, the lower side of Pedlar river and on Goose Creek; William Mills in 1745 possessed 1500 acres on Salt Creek, Stone House Creek, Horsley's Creek and Buck branch of Pedlar; Thomas Meriwether held over 1,200 acres in 1744 on the "ridge between Harris Creek and the river."^{120?} George Monroe owned 800 acres on Tye River "above Major John Henry's to Three Ridge Mountain", 400 acres on Piney river at the foot of the Bald Friar Mountain, and 100 acres on Raccoon Creek of Tye River, all in early 1745. Jeremiah Morris occupied 400 acres in 1745 on a branch of the south fork of the Rockfish beginning at Lynch's Gap; and Philip Mayo in 1744 owned property in the area. He was the nephew of Major William Mayo.^{121?}

John McWherter held a farm in 1745 on Davis Creek; ¹²² William Norris

owned 2,000 acres in 1745 on the north branches of the Pedlar, the "Elk Pasture", and a head branch of the Buffalo moving towards the branches of the Pedlar. Alexander Patton possessed more than 100 acres adjoining his own lines on a branch of the Rockfish River in 1744.¹²³ James Reid (d. 1767?), known as "Justice Reid", settled on Davis Creek of Rockfish about 1742 at "Spring Hill" estate on more than 680 acres.¹²⁴ Fergus Ray held land on the Rockfish and Moses Ray on the Fluvanna with a total of more than 300 acres (old 144). James Robertson occupied 300 acres on the northbranch of the Rockfish in 1745; Miles Riley owned property in 1741 on Groman Creek and both sides of the Rockfish. Alexander Robert settled on or near the Rockfish in 1742 and the family estate eventually numbered more than 1,350 acres. George Rust cultivated 400 acres on the Tye River in 1745; John Raynes established a farm in 1743 on Tobacco Row Mountain; and Samuel Spencer in 1744 owned land on Tye River.¹²⁵ James Shepherd in 1744 held a tract of more than 500 acres on "both side Rockfish river above the great Falls" and transferred it to Jacob Shepherd. Ambrose Joshua Smith, an assistant surveyor to William Mayo, held property in Old Amherst prior to 1745; George Stovall Sr., George Stovall Jr., and Thomas Stovall all settled on a 1,600 acre tract on Stovalls Creek in 1744 after leaving the Buckingham area. Thomas, Marvel, John and Richard Stone possessed 1,000 acres on and near the Pedlar River and its branches in 1744. John Small held 350 acres in 1745 on Hicory Creek; James Southard settled 200 acres in 1744 "on Verdiman's Creek above the tract from Tye river to Buffalo"; and James, Benjamin Sr., and Benjamin Jr., Stinnett Jr., all occupied a tract of 627 acres on Tobacco Row Mountain in 1745.¹²⁶

? Starke held land near Harris Creek about 1744; Henry Swinney in 1745 owned 100 acres on the head of Stephen's branch of Rockfish River "hard by the Dutch settlement"; Henry Taylor in 1744 occupied a 400 acre tract on the south fork of the Buffalo River; George Taylor owned two parcels of a total of 500 acres on the Buffalo River "towards the Blue Ridge Mountains" 1744, and "on the south side of the north fork of the Piney River to extend to the foot of Bald Friar Mountain , 1745. Michael Thomas, Sr., was an early settler on the Rockfish border and Michael Thomas Jr., held a 1,200 acre estate in 1745 on Little Mountain Pleasant, on a branch of the Pedlar and on Harris' Creek. James Thomas held land on the Pedlar River and Henry Thomas assumed ownership of a tract in the fork of Nevil's Creek which totaled more than 600 acres.¹²⁷

John Thornton settled 500 acres in 1744 on Rockfish River; Bishop Toney owned 100 acres in 1742 on both sides of the lower Rockfish; Arthur Tuley

(d. prior to 1763) occupied 100 acres on the branches of the Pedlar in 1744. Richard Taliaferro (d. prior to 1750) , prior to January 1745, received a patent on the head springs of Buffalo Creek (by the south Rockfish), on Findley's Creek and Joe's Creek (which flows into the Tye River) at an estate called "Aberdeen."¹²⁸ Peter Taliaferro owned 400 acres "beginning at Richard Taliaferro's to extend to William Cabell's land in the fork of Joe's Creek."¹²⁹ John Thrasher held land on Thrasher's Creek in 1741; Thomas Upton (died ca. 1751) owned property on Rockfish River prior to 1745. Verdiman was a very early settler; Archibald Woods Sr., entered more than 700 acres in 1740 "on the south side of Piney river near the Priest Mountain, to include Malloy's, Floyd's, and Jones's camps. John Woods in 1740 farmed 50 acres "on the west side of Priest Mountain to include (a) clear field and to extend towards Piney river": and William Woods, also in 1740, received 250 acres "on Priest Mountain towards Maidenhead to include Hempfield."¹³⁰

John and David Watkins occupied 1,700 acres adjoining Richard Taliaferro on a branch of Puppy's Creek; Jonathan Woodson held 400 acres in 1744 on a branch of the Buffalo "back of Mt. Pleasant"; Pierce, John, Jeremiah and David Wade owned the title to more than 2,500 acres on Tobacco Row Mountain and Buffalo river about the year 1743; Hugh Wilson of Hanover County, owned more than 400 acres on "Buffalo back of Mt. Pleasant"; various Wrights, including Thomas, William, Jacob, John, Robert, Augustine, James, Davis and Arcilaus obtained more than 366 acres between 1745 and 1761. ¹³¹ Edward Watts possessed property in 1745 on Pedlar River; John Wheeler occupied 374 acres in 1745 on Tobacco Row Mountain; and William Whitesides owned land in 1745 near the Town of Rockfish.¹³² John McCue (ca. 1718-??) Ireland to Lancaster Pa. in 1731 and reached the Rockfish Valley in 1739.

In addition to Alexander Brown's list, there are a number of family genealogies that document arrivals in Old Amherst before 1761. Alfred Percy in Piedmont Apocalypse cites the entry of the Rucker family into an area stretching from the eastern side of Tobacco Row Mountain to present day Sweet Briar College. ¹³³ Some early Goochland deed records refer to individuals known to have owned property later in Amherst, but whether all these transfers refer to Amherst property is unclear. These data include records of payments of tobacco by Charles Lavender and William Tyre to William Mayo in 1744; a transfer from Anthony Pouncy to Martin Dawson in 1742;¹³⁴ property sold by John Chiswell to Thomas Morrison on

the south branches of the Rockfish near the Blue Ridge in 1740;¹³⁵ the sale by Christopher Cawthorn of a tract in 1740 to George Loving;^{136?} John Key's transfer of property of Daniel Desain and William Stith;¹³⁷ David Patterson's sale of 2,050 acres to James Nevil on the south branches of the Rockfish near a branch of Swan Creek;¹³⁸ Edward Malloy to Robert White and William Miller in 1743;¹³⁹ William Mayo to William Salley in 1743;¹⁴⁰ William Cabell to James Freeland in 1742;¹⁴¹ and William Randolph, Jr., to John Carter in 1741.^{142?}

Over 150 heads of household are documented by the previous information as landowners in the area of Old Amherst by 1745. Given servants, slaves and other family members, one could conservatively estimate 900 inhabitants of the area. Given the fact, however, that many landowners resided elsewhere, this estimate is questionable.

The proprietors of Amherst represented many localities in Virginia. Battaile, Taliaferro, Michaux, Witt, and Martin all were Huguenot names. Ludwells and Randolphs had originated in James City; Campbells came from Augusta; Malloys, ?_____came from Elizabeth City; Johns, Penns, and Wrights emigrated from Norfolk County; the Evans family originated in Accomack and some of the Davises came from Warwick. York County was the ancestral home of the Amblers, Digges, Reids, and Pendletons. Powells emigrated from Lancaster, Christians from Surry, and Davieses from New Kent. Some of the Dillards and Wares were originally found in King and Queen. Garlands emigrated from Hanover. Spotsylvania was the seat of the Taliaferros and Waughs, Winstons, Shepherds, Penns and Battailes emigrated from Caroline. Shepherds and Rucker came from Orange, while Lewises and Meriwethers arrived from Louisa.¹⁴³

A high proportion of all emigrants had removed to an eastern part of Old Goochland before they arrived in Old Amherst. Most of the land speculators purchased estates by 1742. Most of the earliest residents, however, arrived in the years from 1743 to 1745. The founding of Albemarle occurred in 1745, and a heavy stream of immigrants continued to pour into Old Amherst through the 1750s. Most of the families that lived in Amherst in 1808 had arrived before 1761. Before 1745, though, Old Amherst was no more than a remote appendage of a frontier county, Old Goochland. To understand the roots of Old Amherst, one must understand local affairs in Old Goochland and the position of that county in the Colony of Virginia.

OLD GOOCHLAND COUNTY, 1728-1745: LOCAL AFFAIRS

The James River frontier population increased very slowly in the nearly one hundred years between the first census of Henrico County and the creation of Goochland. By 1744, however, Goochland tithables numbered some 3,512.¹⁴⁴ Leadership remained in the same hand throughout the period. In 1728, the Goochland justices included Colonel Thomas Randolph, chief executive officer as county lieutenant, John Fleming, Allen Howard, William Mayo, John Woodson, Tarleton Fleming, and Edward Scott. Dr. William Cabell was sworn in during May 1729. John Fleming became county lieutenant in 1730. In 1734, Isham Randolph, John Netherland and George Carrington were added as justices. William Randolph and Dudley Digges joined the roster in 1735. Subsequent justices up to 1745 included William Randolph, Jr., William Megginson, Charles Lewis, Nicholas Davies, Arthur Hopkins, Miles Cary, James Holman, Edwin Hickman, Benjamin Cocke, Wade Netherland, William Horsley, Francis James, Charles Lynch, Joseph Thompson, Anthony Hoggatt, and Thomas Turpin.¹⁴⁵ At least eleven of these owned land in Old Amherst but only Megginson, Horsely and Cabell actually lived in the area or its immediate vicinity.^{146??}

One gets only slight glimpses of Old Amherst life before 1745. The nature of the social structure and economy are revealed by a 1744 list of tithables and a 1743 reference to the fact that 117 tithes of Charles Lynch were allowed to pay their taxes in money at the rate of 12 shillings 6 pence per poll instead of in the customary tobacco.¹⁴⁷ Although not all of Lynch's tithes lived in Old Amherst, this figure indicates that there were many western residents who depended on such commodities as livestock, vegetables, hemp and crafts for their livelihood rather than tobacco.

The 1744 tax enumeration is even more interesting since it lists names of heads of households, tenants, and numbers of slaves per estate. These figures were also taken by Charles Lynch. Not all the families included resided in the area of Old Amherst, but many names of persons known to have lived in the region do appear. Of the total of 427 persons listed, 104 are described as "not tobacco tenders." The latter category included the Higginbothams, Joseph Evins, John Lackey, John Small, Thomas Bell, Alexander Montgomery, John Wade, Thomas Wright, and James Woods. Few had slaves and none had more than five tithables in their household. Seventy-one tobacco growers held a total of 323 tithes. Most of these had five

or fewer tithables, such as John Harris, James Golsbey, William Brannon, and John Key (sons Martin and John and one slave). There were a few large estates with John Carter's leading the list with 71 slaves.¹⁴⁸ Lunsford Lomax's estate was next with 24 slaves under the supervision of Gabriel Long. Harmer & King owned 21 slaves under the direction of three tenants; George Munro, John Lackey, and William Bobe. Peter Jefferson had eleven slaves, Nicholas Meriwether owned 17, Charles Lynch had 9 tithables, and Robert Rose's estate numbered 8 slaves under the management of John Ross. All other tobacco growers listed possessed fewer than five slaves.¹⁴⁹

During these early years, the people of Old Amherst relied on a few road for their communication and transportation. Rivers were used to a lesser extent because of blockages and the lack of vessels adequate for shipping any substantial volume of goods. The Three Notched Road, the oldest east-west artery in the Piedmont, stretched from Williamsburg through Henrico up modern Route 250 into present-day Albemarle and Augusta to the Valley of Virginia. In 1733, Goochland opened the Three Notched Road through the county. Due to its location, the road was only of marginal interest to the western Piedmont.¹⁵⁰ Much more useful was the Fluvanna (James River) road which was begun in 1729. Modern route 11 (?) follows much of this road.¹⁵¹ The oldest roads directly entering the region of Old Amherst followed much of the course of modern Route 6. In 1731, William Cabell "was given leave" from his dwelling into the "main" road, but this was east of Amherst. Also in 1731, Allen Howard obtained access from Byrd Creek to the Rockfish River. John Tuly and Samuel Burks were surveyors of the western parts of this road.¹⁵² William Randolph in 1737 opened a road from his Tuckahoe estate westward, but it is not known how far west it proceeded. The River Road reached the Forks of the James near Columbia in 1739 and touched John Harmer's estate in present day Fluvanna county.

The first road known to have entered colonial Amherst was Secretary Carter's road from his North River property to his Tye River estate. This was begun in September 1738. In 1739, the Secretary succeeded in blocking the construction of public roads into his quarters. A road from Verdiman's Thoroughfare to the Secretary's Ford was authorized in 1740. John Reid and Lazarus Small were among the landowners ordered to assist in the construction. In 1741 John Carter was authorized to clear a road from Tye River to his Clear Mountain estate in Albemarle. The road was extended

from Carter's Buffalo River lands to the Tye and Rockfish in September 1742. Howard Cash was the surveyor from the Buffalo to the Tye, Thomas Jones covered from the Tye to the Rockfish, and John Jones supervised the road between the Rockfish and the Hardware. In December 1743 the Secretary's Road was continued from the Tye to Fendley's Gap in the Little Mountains (near Variety Mills), "thence to the nearest way to the South [James] River." Thomas Jones surveyed the Tye-Fendley's Gap-South River road in September 1744. Highway research historian Nathaniel Pawlett has theorized that the Secretary's Road entered Old Amherst west of Green Mountain and followed modern routes 722 and 655 into Arrington and up to Roseland near the intersection of routes 723 and 151.¹⁵³

The Secretary's Road was by far the most prominent road in the Old Amherst area by 1745, and undoubtedly strongly affected future settlement patterns. There were other roads, however, that aided communication and transportation as well. In 1741, William Cabell started a road from his home to Lickinghole Chapel in modern Goochland.¹⁵⁴ In 1740 William Megginson was authorized to build a road from his house to the Willis River bridge.¹⁵⁵ Another road was constructed from Thomas Morrison's to Michael Woods's road near the Three Notched in 1741.¹⁵⁶ In November 1745 a road was authorized from Tye River to Walton's Ford of the Slate River and then into Glover's Road.¹⁵⁷ Probably by 1745 some network existed through Rockfish Gap connecting the Valley with the Piedmont. Other gaps included Reed, Tye River, Irish, Robertson, and the James River, but none of these merited a road before 1745 in the estimation of the Goochland planners.

Settlement patterns and communication were also moulded by the location of ferries and ordinaries (taverns). There were at least ten ferries in Old Goochland, but James Fendley's afforded the only possible link to Old Amherst. Its location is not known, but it could have forded the James from Buckingham into the Norwood area.¹⁵⁸

Goochland ordinaries were invariably located in the eastern part of the county. These included (typist: can't read)... ..regulated by the county authorities. During the years form 1728-1744, most prices remained fixed except for the inflation of the War of Jenkin's Ear from 1739-1742. West India rum sold at ten shillings per gallon in 1735 and 1744. Madeira remained at 2 shillings 6 pence throughout those years. New England

rum, however, increased from one shilling per flask to five shillings. In 1744 French wine cost five shillings per quart; nine pence was the price of one quart of Virginia strong beer; a full dinner cost one shilling while victuals for his servant were six pence.¹⁵⁹

The Goochland order books are full of information in this period concerning slaves. In 1736, Bartholemew Austin presented a claim for a runaway slave belonging to John Harmer.¹⁶⁰ Secretary Carter received commissions for the trial of two slaves two years later.¹⁶¹ At the same time two Goochland citizens presented claims for recovering two runaway slaves of the Secretary. That year was concluded with the trial of John Moon for the charge of killing a slave belonging to Nicholas Davies. At first the court divided, but on the second hearing Moon was acquitted and had only to pay court costs.¹⁶²

Hampton, an outlaw slave, was killed in the woods in 1739. Court actions against slaves in Goochland increased in 1740, perhaps as a result of the slaves' hopes for liberation at the onset of the War of Jenkin's Ear. Another runaway slave of John Carter, for example, was apprehended.¹⁶³ In late 1741 yet another slave belonging to Secretary Carter was tried in Williamsburg and executed. The most sensational case in these years was the trial of three slaves for the murder of John Lee in 1742. The slave lard pleaded guilty while Yorkshire professed his innocence. Both were hanged. The slave Lucy was also convicted as an accomplice for persuading Yorkshire to kill Lee, and she was likewise hanged.¹⁶⁴

The administration of justice was not confined to slaves., William Cabell figured prominently in numerous civil suits as plaintiff, defendant, and assignee for the recovery of debts. In 1729, Cabell charged Robert Wade with trespass. Dr. Cabell recovered 16 shillings three pence, three hogsheads of tobacco, and three bushels of Indian corn.¹⁶⁵ Throughout the 1730s, Cabell waged a number of eviction suits and tried to recover damages for trespass. Usually, the offending squatters ran away before judgment could be collected from them.¹⁶⁶ John Carter, not unexpectedly, was able to win his court suits against debtors.¹⁶⁷ Occasionally, prominent citizens of Goochland sued each other as in the case of William Cabell versus Martin King (1744) and Nicholas Davies versus Dudley Digges (1737).

Conflict extended to religious affairs as the Anglicans penalized dissident Protestants. The western frontier was, however, appreciably

more tolerant than the Tidewater. The Scots-Irish Presbyterians, German Protestants, and French Huguenots were too numerous and too necessary for the development of the frontier to be constantly harassed. Most Protestants were allowed to worship as they pleased in Goochland, but they were required to pay taxes to the Established Church. Marriages theoretically had to be performed by Anglican ministers.

Most Anglicans were too busy creating their own congregations in the frontier to worry excessively about the Dissenters. William Randolph had given the glebe land for the Goochland Anglicans. There the Reverend Anthony Gavin did most of his preaching, but he also ministered at small chapels in Old Amherst between 1736-1745. When St. Anne's Parish was formed in 1745 coterminous with Albemarle County, there were only two churches in the parish. Both were located in Old Amherst and both had been built by Dr. William Cabell. One was at Key's near Fendley's Gap in Purgatory Swamp and the other at Maple Run near the modern town of Clifford.¹⁶⁹

OLD GOOCHLAND COUNTY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

From the first, Goochland was very much involved with the outside world. The county was named for Governor William Gooch (1671-1749; governor 1727-1749), who was a leading architect of the British American empire. Gooch had very good relations with both colonials and London officialdom. Other colonial officials reflected Gooch's policies. Within his administration Gooch was fortunate to have a number of outstanding men. John Grymes acted as receiver general of customs (1723-1748), Edward Barradall (1737-1743) and William Bowden (1743-1798) served as the attorneys general; Thomas Nelson followed John Carter as Secretary of the Colony (1743-1776); John Blair was Auditor General (1732-1771); and John Robinson was Speaker of the House of Burgesses (1733-1765). The longevity in tenure of many of these officeholders provided an substantial continuity of leadership. Old Goochland reached maturity as this last generation of colonial leaders loyal to the goals of the British Empire rose to power.

In colonial days, the hand of the central government touched rural counties primarily through the election of burgesses and their collective legislative actions, and through the payment of taxes. Although some of the funds raised went to burgesses in Williamsburg, under normal

circumstances the bulk of Goochland taxes went into local coffers to pay officials such as the clerk, sheriff, and jailor.^{170??;171??} After 1728 tithes per poll fell off substantially from the high of 28 pounds of tobacco for that year.^{172??} Growth in population between 1737 and 1744 kept taxes down to between five and nine pounds of tobacco per year, except for 1740 and 1742. Those two years marked the height of Virginia's involvement in the War of Jenkins' Ear. Even then, taxation remained far below the level of 1728.¹⁷³

Since taxation fell in equal amounts on all tithes, there was great inequality in the burden of payments. Heads of households were responsible for tax payments. Slave owners paid high taxes, but so did poor families. Persons not engaged in the harvesting of tobacco were also at a great disadvantage. The Amherst regions' share of the county taxes was negligible before 1743. A rough estimate for 1744 would give Old Amherst 675 tithes out of a county total of 3,512 and thus taxes of 6,075 pounds of tobacco out of a total of 32,728 collected, roughly 21 percent at most.^{174?}

Nine men served Old Goochland as burgesses between 1728 and 1744. James Holman held the longest tenure since he represented the county six years, from 1734 to 1740. Ironically, Holman was also the most obscure of the Goochland burgesses. The only reference the author could find to Holman in the Journal of the House of Burgesses concerned his request for leave to go home.¹⁷⁵ Dudley Digges and John Fleming succeeded the original Goochland burgesses Richard Randolph and John Bolling in 1730. Both served until 1734. Digges was a fairly insignificant delegate. The only committee he served on was Propositions and Grievances (1732) and there is no record that he authored any bills other than a few concerning entailed lands. Digges was disgraced by being arrested in 1730 for absenting himself from the House without leave. He was forced to pay a financial penalty to be reinstated.¹⁷⁶ Fleming was fairly active in comparison. He served on the committees of Courts of Justice, Public Levy and Propositions and Grievances. Fleming took an active interest in entailed lands, the burgesses wages, tobacco excise taxes, a bill to combat usury, and weights and measures. In 1734 Fleming examined the litigation over the estate of Robert "King" Carter and considered an invention that a certain Will Dennis claimed would improve tilling. In the same year Fleming too, had the misfortune of being arrested for an unauthorized absence.¹⁷⁷

Edward Scott was elected as burgess in 1734 with Holman and likewise was apparently involved in very little public legislations. Isham Randolph

was elected burgess in 1738, the same year he began to acquire property in Old Amherst, and served until 1742. Randolph's committees included Privileges and Elections, and Propositions and Grievances. In 1738 he was selected by the House to address the governor on colonial policies governing imports and exports. Randolph also addressed the governor on a House request for Gooch to use his influence to increase the amount of salt imported into Virginia. In June 1740 Randolph was appointed to address the governor on the "cheerfulness" of the colony in for the war with the Spanish. Randolph was heavily involved in this War of Jenkins's Ear both in proposing a budget for military activities in the West Indies and as commander of the colonial militia. Isham Randolph took conflicting stands on the issue of personal liberties. In 1738 he successfully lobbied for the exemption of Quakers from parish levies, but in 1740, he supported a duty on slaves.¹⁷⁸ Of all the burgesses from Old Goochland, Isham Randolph was probably the most vocal and influential.

Benjamin Cocke and William Randolph III were elected burgesses in 1742 and served until the creation of Albemarle County. Cocke was largely involved with Goochland claims. He served on the Committee of Courts of Justice. In 1744 Cocke utilized "pork barrel" techniques to good advantage procuring a ferry to his own land.¹⁷⁹ William Randolph also served on the Courts of Justice committee, as well as on Privileges and Elections. As burgess Randolph was mainly concerned with local and defense matters. In 1744 he attempted unsuccessfully to strengthen coastal forts. In the same year he authored a bill that required the surveyors of the prospective counties of Albemarle, Louisa and Augusta to reside in their respective counties.¹⁸⁰ Many of the burgesses had an economic interest in the region of Old Amherst, but none resided there and none of the bills they sponsored were specifically directed toward people or places in Amherst. Their efforts primarily affected Old Amherst in the matters of taxation, courts, and commodity regulation.

The burgesses' activities in Williamsburg were just one example of the pivotal role the capital played in all colonial affairs and the development of Old Goochland in particular. As remote as Amherst was, Williamsburg was a significant life line for policy decisions and livelihood in Old Amherst. Amherst was dependent on Williamsburg for political leadership, agricultural regulation, taxation,

commercial development, militia organization, ecclesiastical affairs, and the regulation of land transactions. Williamsburg served as the overall model for lifestyle and culture. One of the more interesting connections between the capital and the outlying provinces were the semi-annual fairs held in the town. These were held on the 23rd of April and the 12th of December to encourage the growth of the economy and the interaction of different parts of the colony. Prizes were also given at horse races, athletic contests, and track events held concurrently.¹⁸¹ People from the area of Old Amherst had a myriad number of reasons for closely following developments in the capital (through word of mouth and reading the Virginia Gazette) and visiting the town themselves. Through these links, the far-flung domains of the colony of Virginia became interdependent and began developing a unified culture separate from English society.

Legislative and executive fiat exerted the strongest influence in shaping colonial culture. One of the more important acts of the period was the 1728 revision of the slave code. This code regulated the treatment of blacks for the remainder of the colonial period. In late 1738 a bill was passed to encourage foreign Protestants to settle in the colony. It very likely fostered the German settlement of Nassau in Old Amherst. Iron industry was promoted in an act of 1732. The early mineral industry of Old Amherst was largely governed by this regulation. Various acts regulated county government in this period. Justices of the peace and clerks became exempt from militia service in 1738. In the same year counties secured the right to license peddlars at their discretion. Deficit spending for roads was permitted in 1742. Voting qualifications were set in 1736: voters had to own either 100 acres of wild land or 25 acres of developed land. Bills passed at the same time Albemarle County was created indicate legislative concern with the financial, legal, and moral matters. On October, 25, 1744, acts were passed to give relief to certain creditors, to suppress vice, to fix the salary of Council, "to prevent excessive gaming." To amend the law concerning the proving of wills, to prevent fraud in custom, to establish a tax on furs and skins (for the support of the College of William and Mary), to place a duty on liquors, to regulate litigation and attorneys, to establish clearly titles to land, to create a duty of horses and regulate cattle drivers, to establish new ferries, and to provide for defense against invasions.¹⁸²

Forging policy was largely determined by England, but the colonists had

broad latitude in Indian relations. Confrontations with Indians continued in the south, north and far west, but the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 with the Iroquois removed any Indian menace to west of the Alleghenies. The War of Jenkin's Ear (1739-1742) with the Spanish greatly added to the financial burden of areas like Goochland.¹⁸³ Some of the colonial militia and a great number of convicts and vagrants were shipped to the West India theater under the command of former Governor Spotswood. The war ended in a stalemate but did provide valuable military experience for the colonists and created a temporary scare of Spanish incursions into the colony. After the war ended, the colonial routine returned to normal. When Albemarle was established, the main foreign policy concern in 1745 was the rebellion of the Jacobites in Scotland against Hanoverian rule.

By 1745 the region of Old Amherst had become surrounded by other settlements. To the east, most areas of modern Albemarle had been surveyed and parcelled out through land patents. Opposite the property of the Cabells and their associates along the James River in present-day Buckingham County lay a number of plantations. The Lynches and other pioneers had begun moving into modern Campbell and Bedford counties. Patterns of trade, communication, and intermarriage tied all these areas together. There was also interaction with the north to a lesser extent. Settlers from the Rappahannock, Potomac, and York river basins and Shenandoah Valley occupied modern Augusta and Rockbridge counties. The Beverly Manor Grant [1736] in Augusta formed the nucleus for the first principal settlement in that county. James Patton (1692-1755) brought a number of emigrants with him in 1737 and soon became the most important man in western Virginia.¹⁸⁴ John Peter Salley lived in the Blue Ridge at this time immediately west of Old Amherst. Old Amherst entrepreneurs like Peter Jefferson, William Randolph, John Harmer, and Walter King all owned vast tracts of land on the Sherando and in other parts of modern Augusta. Due to the sparseness of settlement, most administrative action concerning this northern and western region occurred in Orange County before 1745. There was some trading and land speculation in the region by Amherst citizens. Before the Rockfish Gap road was opened, however, contacts remained at a minimum. Indians continued to threaten the northern area into the 1740s and these incursions vitally concerned the Blue Ridge settlement of Old Amherst. The last Indian battle in the region was fought at Balcony Falls in December 1742 in

modern Rockbridge. Some of the inhabitants of Old Amherst probably helped to suppress these Indians. After 1745 the increasing momentum of settlement helped weld all these localities together into a common culture.

By the early 1740s, Old Goochland had grown too large for the standard administrative unit. The population had almost quadrupled since the county had been formed and covered several thousand square miles. No longer a simple aggregate of frontier homesteads, communities were increasingly handicapped by the distance men had to travel to transact business. The concerns of the county's citizens were too diverse for the court at Atkinson's Ferry to handle adequately. In 1740 attempts were first made to annex part of Goochland to Hanover or to divide the county, but the effort failed.¹⁸⁵ Two years later a proposition for dividing Goochland was sent to the General Assembly, but no immediate action was taken. A bill to create a ferry over the Fluvanna from James Fenley's land to Dr. William Cabell's estate was approved at this time. Another petition to divide Goochland by the Fluvanna was rejected in early 1744. Finally, burgesses William Randolph and Benjamin Cocke threw their support behind the partition of the county and division was assured. A new parish (St Anne's) was authorized west of the forks of the James to coincide with a new county named after William Keppel, second earl of Albemarle, the titular governor of Virginia. The new county was included the modern counties of Albemarle, Amherst, Nelson, Bedford, Campbell, Buckingham, Fluvanna, and parts of Appomattox. A bill was approved for the first time on September 13, 1744. Governor Gooch signed the authorization for Albemarle County on October 25, and the bill took effect December 31, 1744. Administrative organization commenced January 5, 1745, and the first Albemarle court met January 24, 1745.¹⁸⁶

CHAPTER V
AMHERST IN EMBRYO 1745-1761:
THE EVOLUTION OF A NEW SOCIETY IN THE WESTERN
PIEDMONT

The year 1745 was not a propitious one for the British Empire or its orthodox values. The mother country was beset by the Scottish Jacobite rebellion and embroiled with France in the third year of the War of the Austrian Succession. In her American colonies, a desultory conflict, known as King George's War, was sputtering inconclusively. Evangelical Presbyterians, Baptists and Episcopalians denounced the mother church as a shell of vanities and corrupt clerics. Organized presbyteries, through aggressive missionaries posed an institutional threat to the established church in the very heart of Virginia. Alarmed at these developments, Governor Gooch issued a ban against Moravian itinerants and pondered punitive action against other Protestant dissidents.

If Great Britain was taking its lumps, the landed gentry of Virginia had little reason to lament the year. King George's War affected the colony little, and most of Virginia's squirearchy refused to be entangled in matters of theology. Governor Gooch was very popular and his administration, in its eighteenth year, functioned smoothly and interfered little in local affairs. The General Assembly had commenced a general revision of the laws that promised to strengthen the well-oiled machinery of government. Most pleasing of all to the large landowners were the government's incentives for massive land speculation in the west. Lord Fairfax's title to the enormous Northern Neck Proprietary was upheld. James Patton acquired thousands of acres in Augusta County. Speaker John Robinson and others of the Greenbrier Company received a land grant for 100,000 acres on the Ohio River.

Essentially omitted from this ledger of attention was the frontier area carved from western Goochland County. The newly created Albemarle County in 1745 suffered at its birth the vexing threat of the French and Indians, the clash of religions, and the aspirations of the local entrepreneurs. On February 28, 1745, the newest subdivision of His Majesty's territories organized itself at Scott's Landing under the direction of its six magistrates. These justices of the peace, including William Cabell, Peter Jefferson, Thomas Ballew, Joshua Fry, Allen Howard and Joseph Thompson, were joined subsequently by Charles Lynch, James Daniel and Edwin

Hickman. All received their commissions from Secretary of the Colony Thomas Nelson.

In general Albemarle society and local government experienced the same centripetal and centrifugal forces that affected all of the South at mid-century: the influence of Great Britain, the desires of the planter establishment and pressures for social mobility. Most importantly, the interests of the large speculators diverged from the concerns of the small farmers. In the west-central part of the county, some thirty landowners received patents totaling more than 26,807 acres in 1745.¹ These grants ranged from one hundred to more than 5,000 acres. These proprietors ran the gamut from impoverished farmers to local squires like Peter Jefferson, to powerful colonial leaders like Lumsford Lomax. As a territorial unit, Old Albemarle was unstable from the start. Within this sparsely settled but sprawling frontier, the embryos of future political jurisdictions quickly emerged. Within sixteen years, Amherst had been spawned from the west central part of Albemarle.

THE DEEDS AND GRANTS OF SETTLERS

At the time Albemarle was established, the population totaled some 4,250. Available information² leads to a conservative estimate of some one hundred persons owning property in the area of Old Amherst before 1745. A minimum of forty other families received land grants and/or moved into that region in 1745. With its isolation somewhat reduced by legislative fiat, the western regions of Albemarle enjoyed a real estate boom. Between 1745 and 1761 at least 518 individual families representing 323 different surnames occupied lands in the Amherst area.

Of all the new landowners, William Dawson, Philip Grymes, and John Robinson had by far the greatest influence in Virginia's colonial life. Grymes and Robinson became speculators through the cession of other men's properties. Robinson (1704-1766), speaker of the House of Burgesses from 1738 until his death and also the colony's treasurer, was the dominant figure in Virginia politics before the Revolutionary crisis. Robinson was interested in land investments both large and small. In 1760, he acquired some 20,000 acres along the Rockfish and Buffalo Rivers from John Warren, who was interested in unloading his copper mine properties, and from the executors of Joshua Fry and John Chiswell, who wanted to accumulate capital from their lands. At his death six years later, these holdings

were sold by trustees Joseph and William Cabell. Due to Robinson's short tenure as landowner and his many other interests, he exerted little direct influence in the Old Amherst region.³

Philip Grymes of Middlesex County, came from a well-favored family. Like his father, he served as receiver-general, and was a member of the Council. His mother was Lucy Ludwell of Green Spring and he married into the Randolph family. Grymes became involved in Amherst as a creditor to Lumsford Lomas, Sr. Lomas was unable to raise certain monies owed to Grymes, and as a result he was forced to mortgage 7,881 acres along the Tye River as settlement in 1756.

William Dawson was connected through politics and marriage with the Stith and Randolph families. He served as president of the College of William and Mary from 1743 to 1752. Dawson headed a group which received 8,000 acres along the head branches of the Tye and Rockfish Rivers and the Blue Ridge near the Priest Mountain in 1747. After his death, his son Thomas inherited the land and subsequently disposed of the property before moving to North Carolina.⁴

Another leading political family was represented by Philip Pendleton, brother of Edmund, the adroit parliamentarian from Caroline County and future delegate to the First Continental Congress.⁵ The Lovings were also well connected, but chose the life of the frontier over residence in the Tidewater. John Loving, Sr. (1705-1769), acquired social influence, if not marital continuity, through his three marriages into the Lomas, Wormeley and Lumsford families, respectively. His sons John, Jr. (1738-1806), and William (1740-1797) were both kinsmen of Lumsford Lomax. All three arrived in Old Amherst before 1752. In August 1758 John Reid sold to John Loving 10,100 acres for 21.10 on Verdiman's Thoroughfare adjacent to William Wright, John Harmer, and Walter King.

Families that were significant as local gentry and magistrates in colonial Albemarle, such as the Turpins, Frys, Huntess, Jeffersons, Howards and Meriwethers also owned land in Old Amherst. John Hunter, sheriff of Albemarle in 1748, owned real property in 1750 on Marrow Bone Mountain. Allen Howard, one of the original Albemarle justices, held title to massive acreage along the Rockfish and gave the initial impetus to Howardsville along the James. Francis Meriwether was a relative of William Nelson, acting governor of Virginia in the 1770s. The later was a land owner in the North Garden area of Albemarle, and senior member in the family of

Thomas Nelson, the future governor of Virginia whom Nelson County would be named. Thomas Turpin, an assistant surveyor and husband of Thomas Jefferson's aunt, owned 1,000 acres in 1751. Joshua Fry, surveyor, military commander and presiding Albemarle justice, acquired 8,000 acres between 1745 and 1751 along Rocky Creek and Buffalo branch near Baxton's lines. In 1751, Fry and Turpin purchased 2,000 acres under Findley's Mountain adjacent to Lumsford Lomas, Harmer, King and Gabriel Long.⁸ Peter Jefferson held estates along the Rivanna, Fluvanna (the estate Snowden was managed by overseer Martin Dawson, who also owned land later in Old Amherst), and at least 1600 acres in Bedford and Amherst before his death in 1757. His executor, the lawyer John Harvie, also held extensive Amherst properties. Thomas Jefferson, a possible relative of the sage of Monticello, owned 1,700 acres on Bolling's, Stovall's and Porridge Creeks that were purchased in 1751. He served as an assistant surveyor in 1751.⁹

The Christians, Penns, Powells, Crawford, Dickies, Lees, Ellises and Woodroffs, all prominent in the earliest days of Amherst County, arrived during this formative Albemarle period. Robert and Charles Christian owned land on Porridge Creek in 1747. Captain James Dickie purchased 2,700 acres on Elk Creek. Three Ridged Mountain, Hat Creek, and Indian Camp Creek in 1750 with later entires on Castle Creek. Hugh Dobbins made a number of surveys of this land.¹⁰ Nathaniel Woodroff, Jr., lived near the present Sweet Briar College tract. Charles Ellis (1719-1759) came from Henrico and settled at Red Hill on the Pedlar River in present day Amherst in 1754. He purchased from Samuel Meredith 203 acres for 71.¹¹ Ambrose Lee may have owned a total of 11,000 acres on the Buffalo River throughout the 1750s and early 1760s. David Crawford, Jr., the ancestor of presidential candidate William H. Crawford, bought 411 acres from Robert Barnett in 1752 and 400 acres from Landon Hughes in 1760 on the north side of the Rockfish. His daughters married into the Rodes and Barnett families. David Crawford III (1734-1802) lived at the foot of Tobacco Row Mountain at Crawford's Gap.¹²

Richard Powell and Robert Davies occupied the uppermost settlements in modern Amherst. They occupied 650 acres along the Buffalo River and Cuckholds Creek from 1746. The Woods, Ruckers and Taliaferros continued to add to land already held by their families. Richard Taliaferro (d. 1750) in 1746 acquired 8,000 acres

on Rucker's Run opposite Fendley's Mountain and other property adjoining Secretary John Carter's land near the Buffalo River and

Tobacco Row Mountain. Benjamin Taliaferro purchased 1,200 acres on Thrasher's and Franklin's Creeks in 1750. The Woods occupied land throughout the Rockfish Valley, but many of them emigrated to Southwest Virginia and points further west. John Woods (1712-1799) served as Presbyterian lay leader. John and Ambrose Rucker from Orange County expanded their land holdings from the east side of Tobacco Row Mountain into the Sweet Briar College area.¹³

Further west, Micajah Clark owned territory from Tobacco Row Mountain toward the Fluvanna in 1749. Charles Clark in 1751 occupied the south fork of Bolling's, Thrasher's and Buffalo creeks, an area which became the nucleus of Madison Heights. Micajah Moorman, from Moorman's River in Albemarle, established a plantation in the same area.¹⁴ The Clarks and the Moormans were active Quakers. Gabriel Penn is first mentioned in the records in 1757. The Ryans, ancestors of the wealthiest citizens ever produced by the area, Thomas Fortune Ryan, arrived in Old Amherst by the 1750's. John Ryan (1733-1786), who married a Huguenot, certainly lived in the region. His more affluent brother, Philip (1729?-1803), may have also held lands there in addition to those in Goochland.¹⁵

Forerunners of the community of Arrington, the brothers William and Nevis, settled in Old Amherst during this period. John and Robert Campbell emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1726 and subsequently moved to Augusta about 1730. They purchased some tracts in the northern Rockfish Valley, but were mainly concerned with Augusta County affairs. Harden Burnley, Sr. owned 1,600 acres or more at Rucker's Run and Fendley's Gap in 1746. Thomas Cotterell, John Cowper, Richard Pickering, James Grantland, Nicholas Lloyd, and Richard Dobson patented 20,000 acres in 1753 in Albemarle and Augusta adjaunt to Robert Beverley's grant in Augusta. Their purchase seems to have been largely for investment purposes and there is no record of their involvement in Old Amherst affairs. John Moore is cited as owning 1,650 acres near Tobacco Row Mountain in 1750. Ben Harris of Louisa settled 1,100 acres in 1753 at Maple Creek of Pedlar River. Richard Tullos occupied 1,000 acres on Harris Creek.¹⁶ John Warren owned 2,400 acres along Buffalo Ridge and the Rocky Run of Buffalo River.¹⁷ Even trading companies held title to Old Amherst land, as represented by Alexander Speirs & Co. and Richard Oswald & Company's possession of mortgaged land from 1751-1759.¹⁸ For additional settlers recorded between 1746 and 1761, see Table I., Appendix.

Choice land grants had become scarce by the mid-1750s, making a 1754 act of the Privy Council barring grants over 1,000 acres largely irrelevant in Old Amherst. Yet, good lands were still available through entrepreneurs like William Cabell, Robert Rose, Lumsford Lomas, and the estates of John Harmer, Walter King, John Chiswell, the Carters, Braxtons and Randolphs. Dr. William Cabell himself purchased lands from Carter Braxton, Philip Grymes, Lumsford Lomas, David Shepherd, Peyton Randolph, and Peter Cartwright, Sr. In all, Dr. Cabell possessed some 25,000 acres from six miles east of the Tye River to ten miles northwest of modern Shipman.

Dr. Cabell brought a number of tenants and indentured servants from Somerset and Wiltshire, England. Cabell deeded some 1,000 acres to his inlaws, the Burks. In 1750 the doctor surveyed the Byrd, Rivanna, Rockfish and Pedlar rivers. Three years later Cabell surveyed the entries of Nicolas Davies on both sides of the James totaling 31,450 acres. Davies managed to oust Robert Davies from some of this land and the latter left for North Carolina and better prospects. In 1757 Dr. Cabell sold most of his Goochland land, 1,200 acres, to James Smith, Jr. From 1758 to 1760 Cabell deeded a total of 2,271 acres to eight planters for 397. Much of this land had been acquired by Cabell from Benjamin Stinett's lapsed land grant of 1753. By 1760 the doctor started to phase out his entrepreneurial, as well as political, activities. His son, William, Jr., was the beneficiary of the Union Hill estate grounds.¹⁹

Robert Rose acquired about 30,000 acres between 1738 and 1751, but it remained for his sons John, Hugh, Patrick, and Charles to enjoy the full fruits of his patrimony after the reverend's premature death in 1751. Like Cabell, Rose brought in tenants and indentured servants, and was even better connected than Cabell to favor his friends and advertise properties for sale. Rose made sales of several thousand acres to James Barnett, Edward Manion, Bernard Gaines, Margaret Musket, Thomas Higginbotham, Ambrose Jones, Thomas Jones, Thomas Parks, John Elliot, John Wade, Arnold Lewis, ? Watts, Thomas Chew, and Duncan Graham from 1745 to 1750. Robert Rose's associates clearly show the inter-locking, if labyrinthine, nature of the connections of those involved in the early development of Old Amherst. To his neighbor from Urbanna, the mariner John Wilcox, Rose bequeathed 1,020 acres on the Tye River for the token sum of five shillings. Rose exchanged mutual favors with planters from Spotsylvania, Middlesex, Essex, King William, King and Queen,

and Caroline counties including the Penns, Chews, Chiswells, Taliaferros, Brookes, and Braxtons.²⁰

The common thread for most of these associations had been Governor Alexander Spotswood, Rose's mentor. John Graham, one of Spotswood's cousins and agents, was probably related to the settler Duncan Graham. Spotswood's half-nephew Granville Elliot (1712-1789) had served in the Palatinate German wars and perhaps provided some tie between the Dutch Creek settlement and the old country. Robert Rose served as executor of Robert Brooke's will in 1736. Sarah Brooke inherited her family's Amherst lands and her brother William married into the Taliaferro family. William's executors in 1764 were Rose's sons. Sarah Brooke's legacy (1768) was bequeathed to John Brooke (died 1788), his half-brother Robert Spotswood Brooke and John Rose. Humphrey Brooke's niece married Robert Rose in 1733. Rose's second wife, Katherine, was Humphrey Brooke's sister.²¹

The Brookes and Braxtons lived near one another in King William County. Humphrey Brooke, who died in 1738, had married Carter Braxton's aunt, thus forging another link in the chain. Braxton's mother was daughter of Robert "King" Carter. The original Amherst proprietors, George, Sr. and George, Jr., had died in 1748 and 1749, respectively, so young Carter Braxton (1736-1797) fell heir to the family's 25,000 acres between the Buffalo and Tye rivers. Speaker John Robinson was appointed the boy's guardian. As Carter proceeded to marry first the niece of Speaker Robinson and then the daughter of Receiver-General Richard Corbin, he was enabled to touch almost all bases of political and social influence in Virginia. This phalanx of first families certainly commanded respectful attention for Carter Braxton in the region of Old Amherst. George Braxton, Jr., had begun to sell some of the family property in 1745. Moses Higginbotham was deeded 3,230 acres in 1745 on the Buffalo River. William Walker bought another tract in 1749. Carter Braxton himself made only limited sales before 1761.²²

Between the Braxton and Rose lands and on Moorman's, Meechum's and Rockfish rivers lay John Chiswell's territory. By 1750 Chiswell had accumulated some 18,000 acres in Old Amherst and 12,000 acres in modern Albemarle. Chiswell's properties included the area between present-day Afton and Wintergreen. Chiswell had known Robert Rose in Middlesex and the two collaborated along with John Harvie and others in farming and mining ventures. Burgess Chiswell was one of the prime sources for deeded land in Amherst, conveying a minimum of 3,080 acres to James Barnett, James Bell,

Samuel Bell, William Taylor, Alexander Montgomery, John Reid, Fergus Ray, Edward Stevenson, Lawrence Small, John Wright, Francis Wright, and John Roberson. Chiswell also advertised extensively in the Virginia Gazette, and sold his properties by using the numerous political connections he had made over the years he served as burgess.²³ Chiswell was a shrewd operator, making the tidy sum of more than 300 from these investments up through 1755. He seems to have owned land purely for its speculative value and made little effort to develop a community of family or friends in the region. Ironically, nineteen descendants came to rue his free-wheeling ways in bizarre litigation over a mere 321 acres unresolved as late as 1809.²⁴

The Carters seemed to have sat quietly for most of the period on their 10,000 acres between the Piney and Buffalo rivers, known as the Secretary's Tract. After the Secretary's death, his youngest son, Edward, inherited the family lands in Albemarle and Old Amherst. He had grown up in Fredericksburg as another acquaintance of Robert Rose, and later resided at "Blenheim" in present day Albemarle. He served in the House of Burgesses from 1767-1769 and in the House of Delegates in 1788. He died in 1792. His seventh son, Edward, sold his Albemarle possessions and moved into Amherst about 1810. Edward's two marriages connected him with the Charles Lewis and Bartlett Cash families. Hill Carter also lived in Amherst at the Mine Hill estate.²⁵

The final group of entrepreneurs influencing Old Amherst area settlement patterns was a motley assembly connected by joint business ventures and/or kinship, William Sr. and Randolph Jr. and led by the Randolph family. Its members included the politicians Isham Randolph, sea captain and Virginia gent in London; Thomas Mann Randolph, Isham's heir and a future politician; the Bristol merchant firm of Walter King and Burgess John Harmer, formerly of Williamsburg; Peter Jefferson, frontier yeoman and son-in-law of Isham Randolph; Charles Lewis, another son-in-law of Isham Randolph; Nicholas Meriwether; William Stith, historian, minister and cousin of the Randolphs; Lumsford Lomas; and John Loving, cousin of Lomax. Most of their lands in Amherst were contiguous either at the Tye River, Dutch Creek, Rucker's Run, or in the western section. Of these men, Stith acquired more than 1,500 acres between 1738 and 1750. Along with William Randolph, James Young, John Bolling, Nicholas Davies and William Mayo, Stith acquired title in 1744 to Tschiffely's 20,000-acre grant in 1738 along the Fluvanna. This

may have included part of the German settlement along Nassau Creek. Stith also obtained land along Ivy Creek in 1747 in Old Amherst and heading into Poplar Forest in Bedford.²⁶

Lunsford Lomax, a former surveyor for Lord Fairfax, along with other Amherst landholders including the Carters, Taliaferros and Frys, patented 1,000 acres at the Dutch Path, "at the lines of Randolph, Harmer, King, and Lumsford Lomax" in 1750. He also acquired another 1,000 acres that year on the Pedlar River. In 1751 Walter King conveyed to Lomax that tract of land later mortgaged to Grymes. The Lovings settled in the same area under Fendley's Mountain. Thomas Mann Randolph inherited his family's interest in the region after 1745.²⁷ Harmer, King and the Randolphs had cooperated in purchasing tracts ranging from present day Fluvanna to Lake Sherando, to Patrick County. King also owned land in Lunenburg County, and at an earlier time in King George County. Both Harmer and King were involved in a nasty brawl of litigation with the Braxton family over title to the Fork Lands in Fluvanna, where James Nevil also had an estate. The dispute terminated several years of mutual legal and commercial assistance between the three powerful landowners of Amherst.²⁸

After 1745, Harmer, King, Lomax, and T.M. Randolph operated their families' land consortium. In 1748 Randolph's, King's and Harmer's patents of 1738 were reorganized by government action to total 24,000 acres. Harmer and King had gotten involved in Old Amherst, as had Robinson, Chiswell and others, for the primary purpose of realizing a good return on their real estate investment. Harmer and King even chose some of their tracts through a 28,000-acre blind lottery. King eventually acquired 8,376 acres along Nassau and Hat Creeks; Harmer obtained 7,080 acres as his share, also on those two tributaries. King and T. M. Randolph conveyed through their attorney William Waller a 6,000 acre tract to Lomax in 1764. By 1767 Harmer and King owned land from Fendley's Gap to Gleason's Gap along the Elmington Railroad to Arrington, covering both sides of Rucker's Run up to Findley's Mountain.²⁹

Since both King and Harmer were largely absent from their estates, the Bristol merchants secured large numbers of tenants and indentured servants. The German settlers of the Dutch Tract were perhaps the most likely source of manpower. Ambrose Jones and Martin Key, from a Scots-Irish family along the Rockfish, served as overseers of the Nassau plantation of King. Deed records, almost certainly incomplete, indicate fourteen families along the Dutch Tract from 1741 to 1752. These included Henry and Joseph Childers,

Robert Holliday, Stephen Johnson, Thomas Joplin, John Monasco, Nicholas Neal, Arthur Osborn, Leonard Philips, Miles Riley, John Schneider, Henry Swinney and Daniel, John, and Nehemiah Thornton. Homesteads tended to be more affluent the further from Dutch Creek the families lived.³⁰

THE BIRTH OF COMMUNITIES AND THE TIES THAT BIND

Communication networks linked all of the growing settlements. The earliest roads loosely tied Amherst with the east: the River Road and the Secretary's Road. The latter was extended in 1746 from Fendley's Gap to Harvie's Road. The main north-south route was the Court House Road leading to Scott's Landing. Communities along the Fluvanna, Rockfish, and Tye Rivers, in that order, were best served by transportation. Five roads were authorized by the county court in 1745, including three in the east: Robert Rose's and John Harvie's on the Tye, and a one leading from Rockfish Gap to the D.S. Road near Meechum's River. Higginbotham's Mill Path and the Robert Davis Ford Road helped open up the Buffalo River area to the west.³¹

In the following year the far north territory was made more readily accessible by Nicholas Davis's Road from the Blue Ridge Falls to beaver Creek. The Buffalo Island Road reached to the second falls of the Tye, firmly linking Cabell's Swan Creek land to the Tye. With a spur from the Fluvanna reaching Samuel Stevens's estate and a western road extending from the mouth of the Tye, it became possible in 1747 to travel on public thoroughfares from the Tobacco Row Mountains to Fendley's Ferry. Robert Rose constructed several roads along his properties at the Tye and the Piney from 1749-1751. Other roads were certainly added from 1751 to 1761, such as Christian's Path, but the absence of records makes it impossible to cite individual arteries.³²

By 1761 the major rivers were cleared and reasonably well traveled. The rivers became centers of religious, social, political and commercial activities. The relatively poor Dutch Creek settlers near present-day Shipman and Lovingson benefited from the presence of affluent planters in the area and used the roads to develop commercial activity. The same was true for the "Town at Rockfish" (Gap), comprised largely of Scotch-Irish. These Ulsterman developed an entrepot that serviced Augusta County and eastern Albemarle.

The only ferry before 1745 in the Amherst area was Fendley's over the Fluvanna. By 1761 another eleven were in operation, including William Cabell's to Samuel Spencer's estate over the

Fluvanna (1745, 1748); Cabell's Tye ferry (1748); Cabell's ferry across the Fluvanna to James Fendley's lands (1748); Nicholas Davies's ferry across the Fluvanna (1753); Thomas Joplin's ferry across the Rockfish (1753); Megginson's ferry in the Greenwood area (1756); George Stovall, Jr's, ferry from the western Albemarle to Bedford (1755); William Cabell's to Allen Howard (1757); Edward Lynch's ferry from his Bedford lands to Micajah Moorman's (1757). In addition, many residents used the county ferry from Daniel Scott's over the Fluvanna to William Battersby's landing in order to transact official business. Most ferries charged three pence for individuals and sometimes six pence for animals. A 1751 law permitted ferry attendants to be exempt from public levies and other public service. They could also keep ordinaries if they charged reduced rates.³³ Ferries remained under colonial jurisdiction and licensing while road construction and maintenance were purely local county concerns.

Ordinaries and churches provided the most convenient facilities for social interchange within the Amherst area. There were at least five ordinaries in the Amherst region, including William Cabell's at Swan Creek, Henry Key's near present-day Colleen, Rennold's at Wilderness Run, and those of William Morrison, Hugh McGarrah, and John Hays in the Rockfish Valley and near the Gap.³⁴ Four Episcopal churches served the area, including Maple Run, organized prior to 1745, two miles from Clifford; Key's, organized prior to 1745 near Fendley's Gap and Purgatory Swamp; Rockfish, near Rockfish River on the trail to Rockfish Gap; and Rucker's, constructed in 1760 near Harris Creek in present-day Amherst.

Various scattered chapels and prayer services supplemented these facilities. The only other organized church within the limits of Old Amherst at this time was the Rockfish Presbyterian Church (organized between 1739 and 1745 near Wintergreen), which served the largely Scotch-Irish population of Rockfish Valley. A fair number of Quakers inhabited the western border and used the South River Meeting House in Bedford. German and Baptist itinerants attempted to meet the spiritual needs of other Protestants. At some indeterminate time. The Reverend John Duncan organized a congregation between Lowesville and Buffalo River.³⁵

Social ties and communication links flourished along the rivers, originally in six separate settlements. Information concerning the riverine land grants reveals the specific holders of economic and political power in the area. At least thirteen major grants were made along the Buffalo River between 1739 and 1743, with the largest

titles going to the Braxtons--some 25,000 acres awarded in 1743. Only two other grants exceeded 1,000 acres, that of Joseph and Richard Ballinger for 2,000 acres in 1750, and Peter Rucker's 5,850 acre claim in 1746. Others living along the river who figured prominently in later Amherst affairs were the Higginbothams, Zachariah Taliaferro, and Thomas Powell. Thus, of the 36,111 acres granted, George Braxton controlled almost 70 percent.³⁶ Secretary John Carter also owned a large tract of land between the Buffalo and the Piney. Since the Braxtons resided in the east, gradually sold off much of their land to small farmers, and rented much of the rest to tenants, their actual influence in daily affairs of Old Amherst was minimal. The isolation of the Buffalo River throughout this period weakened the power of all of its landowners.

At least seventeen land grants in the area of Old Amherst were made along the Fluvanna. Not surprisingly, most of the choicest land was occupied by 1750 by the magnates of Albemarle, such as William Cabell, Allen Howard, the Mayos, John Bolling and Nicholas Davies. A leading merchants, Henry Trent, was also represented in the region. Patents alone are somewhat misleading as an index of control along the Fluvanna. Dr. William Cabell gradually bought many land titles and eventually controlled most of a 22-mile stretch along the Fluvanna. Much of this land he filled with tenants.

Some eleven persons received land grants along the Pedlar River from 1746 to 1756 totaling some 4,987 acres. The scope of land ownership was rather evenly distributed, with no individual receiving less than 365 acres nor more than 1,000. Families included were the Stones, Horsleys, Wattses, Tulleys and Hugheses. Absentee landowner Lumsford Lomax also owned 400 acres. Nine individuals received land grants along the Piney River from 1738 to 1755. John Carter far outdistanced any other landowners by the acquisitions of 10,000 acres covering to the Buffalo River. Other medium-sized holdings included those of Thomas Higginbotham, Gilbert Hay, Philip and Nathaniel Davis, and George Taylor. In Carter's absence, local power was fairly evenly distributed among the landowners.

The Rockfish River area was second only in importance to the Fluvanna and served as the essential integrating connection between eastern and western Albemarle. At least 39 patent for land in that region were issued from 1730 to 1750, many overlapping into present-day Nelson and Albemarle. Holdings over 1,000 acres included those of Allen Howard (more than 3,000), John Chiswell (30,000), David Patterson (1,350), William Mayo (1,330), James Nevil

(2,636), William Morrison (2,460), and John Farrar (2,890). Other prominent political figures represented included John Bolling, Edwin Hickman, Thomas Meriwether, John Woods, and Thomas Joplin. Most of the leading landowners, with the significant exception of James Nevil, were more oriented toward the eastern section rather than the wester part of the county.

Besides the Fluvanna, the other formative nucleus for Old Amherst society was the Tye River. Land grants totaling 60,867 acres were assigned in the names of fourteen persons from 1739 to 1756. The two largest properties went to Robert Rose -- some 23,700 acres in 1743 that extended to the Piney River -- and to a consortium composed of Walter King, John Harmer, the Braxtons and the Randolphs, amounting to 28,528 acres in 1750. All of the latter group lived elsewhere and sold off many acres while renting some of the rest to tenants. James Churchill, Charles Lewis and John Henry all owned between 1,500 and 2,300 acres. Other influential land holders included William Cabell, James Nevil, William Mathews, Thomas Lane, George Munro, Thomas Wright, and James Freeland.

By 1761 at least 78 grants had been issued along 38 specific tributaries and in three inland locations in the area of Old Amherst. Among these subsidiary properties, some of the most valuable land included the Buffalo Ridge tract, the site of cooper mines. Joshua Fry, John Warren, John Harvie, and Mathew Whittall received properties totaling more than 2,400 acres from 1748 to 1750. Five men received grants totaling 1,500 acres on Huff's Creek near the Tobacco Row Mountain between 1748 and 1755. Some 2,780 acres were awarded to four individuals on Davis Creek including John Reid and William Wright, who held 2,166 acres between them in 1750. Grants of more than 1,000 acres were bestowed on Dr. William Cabell at Beaver Pond near Tobacco Row Mountain (2,700 acres in 1755); George Carrington on Harris Creek and the Little Pedlar River (patented 1746, 6,750 and 3,400 acres, respectively); Lumsford Lomax on Horseley's Creek of Pedlar River and Rucker's Run (patented 1750, 1,104 and 378 acres respectively); James Christian on Porridge and Rocky creeks (1755, 3,926 acres); Samuel Spencer on Rucker's Run (1755, 2,000 acres), and Robert Rose on Little Pedlar (roughly 1,000 acres.) John Harvie also held title to 400 acres in 1749 on Harris Creek and Joshua Fry obtained, in 1749, 693 acres on Porridge Creek. The least desirable land patented in Old Amherst

may well have been the snake-infested 400-acre area of Purgatory Swamp ceded to Walter King in 1751.

Mountains, creeks, forests and flatlands in the region of Old Amherst bore a multitude of graphic names, variously based on the surnames of explorers and landowners, topographical features, animals or vegetation, historical incidents, or sheer whimsy. Locations named after natural features included Humpback Stone, Pilot Mountain, Stoney Creek, Rocky Run (near the north fork of the Piney River), Dancing Creek, Salt Creek, the Little Cove, Three Ridge Mountain, the Ragged Mountain, and Horse Shoe Mountain. Animals and plants were memorialized in Cub Creek (near the Tye), Elk Forest Lowgrounds (Peter Jefferson's land in 1745), Cattail Marsh, Goose Creek, Cedar Creek, Beaver branch of the Rockfish, Bear Mountain, Ginseng branch of Hat Creek, Possum Creek, Peavine Mountain, Buffalo Island, Raven Creek, Swan Creek, and Raccoon Creek. Real and imagined Indian sites were honored by Indian Creek of Piney River, the old Indian Camp near Tye River, and Indian Camp Creek.³⁷

Explorers were remembered in Fendley's Creek, Mountain, and Gap; Hill's Camp (near The Priest Mountain); Moll's Camp (near Thrasher's Creek); Maloy's, Floyd's, and Jones's camps, all near Piney River and The Priest. Individual settlers gave their names to the vast majority of land forms and water courses, including Taylor's Creek, Bolling's Creek, Lynch's Gap, Rose's Creek, Nevil's Creek, Hughes Creek, Horsley's Creek, Meriwether's branch, Stovall's Creek, Rucker's Run, and the like. Important landowners like William Cabell, John Carter, and Robert Davis had creeks named after their commercial mills. The staple crop of Old Amherst was honored for posterity in Tobacco Row Mountain. Vivid imaginations alone were obviously responsible for Rich Cove, The Priest Mountain, Bald Friar Mountain, Maidenhead Mountain, Cuckhold's Creek, and Sugar Loaf Mountain.

The area of Old Amherst was first extensively mapped by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson from 1749 to 1751, recorded in their report on the back settlements of Virginia. The latter was published in London in 1751. Resident landowners such as William Cabell and Robert Rose rendered great assistance to this project through preliminary surveys.³⁸ The Fry-Jefferson Map was the first tangible evidence of an Old Amherst identity.

Between God and Mammon: The Life And Times of Robert Rose,
1745-1751

The area of Old Amherst was slowly fused by the social, and

the political, economic, demographic, and topographical ties among the leading planters. All of the churches, common places of gathering, and improved systems of communication and transportation drew the community closer together. Robert Rose was personally involved in all of these activities. If Dr. Cabell was the father, Rose served as the midwife, mentor, and godfather of Old Amherst. The Reverend Rose (1704-1751), the epitome of frontier cosmopolitanism, was even more significant for his role in the daily life of Old Amherst. He was symbol and fulcrum for the integration of west central Albemarle and served as its guiding spirit until his death in 1751.

Rose's family, of moderate gentry status, settled in Belevat, Scotland. John Rose of Western Alves had five sons before his death in 1727. Robert was the third. John, Hugh, Charles, and Alexander joined Robert in emigrating to Virginia by the 1720s. Robert was twice married and had five daughters and four sons. For reasons unclear, except perhaps common Scottish origins, Robert Rose quickly became the protege of Governor Alexander Spotswood. He served the governor periodically both as chapel priest and business manager for Spotswood's Germanna concerns. Rose also served as rector of St. Anne's Parish from 1728-1747, and probably was largely responsible for the adoption of that name by Albemarle for its own parish. The newly formed vestry summoned Rose to Albemarle in 1746, but prior to October 1747 Rose retained his residence near Urbanna in Middlesex County. His involvement in Albemarle was largely confined to land ventures, including an occasional court case over legal title to lands.

Rose began a remarkable diary in January 1746 which is the only personal account extant of life in Old Amherst during this period. Rose did not take up his ministerial duties in the county full time until he arrived at Rose Isle on the Tye on October 20, 1747.³⁹

Like any upstanding political or religious leader in his county, Robert Rose immediately began to attend monthly court sessions, primarily to conduct business and to preach. He traveled extensively through his new territory to conduct official and personal business of the latter, his greatest interest lay in the up-country mines. Much of his diary discusses his efforts at extraction. The mines were located seven miles from present Amherst Court House and five miles from the Fluvanna. Two shafts had been dug, one 47 feet by 20 feet, containing two pumps, and the other 75 feet by 9 feet. Stamping mills on Rock Creek separated the good ore. The ore was then sown up in leather sacks and sent down the Fluvanna. The price of copper

mine shares at the time of Robert's arrival was roughly 35, and the mine perhaps employed as many as 40 or 50 workers. John and James Warren, who operated the mines, tried hard but finally despaired of any reasonable profit and sold their shares to John Chiswell for 270 on August 18, 1750. Chiswell, John Harvie and Rose concluded a tripartite agreement concerning the mine investment on November 20. On December 5, Rose paid his last visit to the mine, which continued to be worked after his death.⁴⁰

Although Rose was alternately harried and buoyed by the proceedings in the mines, the bulk of his time was still devoted to ministerial and estate duties, both activities requiring extensive social interaction and travel. By 1748, St. Anne's Parish and five churches and Rose was required to preach in each at least four times a year. He also regularly held prayer services every Christmas and New Year's Day, observed on March 25. Rose also conducted services on many estates, largely located in the confines of Old Amherst or near the courthouse. The glebe property of St. Anne's was established in 1751 on the south fork of Totter Creek between Scott's Landing and Howardsville. Rose received 1,000 pounds of tobacco per year as specified by colonial laws. Five days after arriving at Tye River, Rose delivered his maiden sermon at Thomas Jones's house on Luke 17:17, expounding on faith and on the coming kingdom of God.⁴¹

In the following years, Rose largely repeated his pattern. The next year the cleric preached at the estates of Bernard Gaines, William Cabell, Mrs. Higginbotham, James Freeland, Thomas Walker at his home on Hickman's Creek, and at Scott's Landing and the Mountain Chapel, some twenty miles distant from his home. The three following years he conducted services in addition at Glover's on Slate River, William Allen's on Hughes Creek, Goodwin's, William More's, and Edward Manion's. In one instance he preached before 40 and 50 people at a stream bank near the Pedlar River, in a true evangelical setting. Rose also spoke on October 13, 1748, to several families in transit from the Shenandoah Valley to North Carolina. The more conventional tableaux of Mrs. Higginbotham's and Dr. Cabell's, however, were his usual meeting places. His last local sermon was delivered at home on June 9, 1751.⁴²

Frontier ministry presented a number of vexing problems. On October 2, 1748, Rose arrived at the courthouse to read prayers only to find "there...(were) not any number of people by reason one

Phelps was a Dying of a Disentary there." It was not until six weeks after this that Rose was officially received as minister at the courthouse. On October 2, 1749, he met a dwindling number of the vestry at the courthouse who had to dismiss themselves for lack of a quorum. Matters reached their lowest point on July 29, 1750, when Rose complained that even his clerk refused to attend worship services.⁴³

There were also triumphs and satisfactions to counterbalance these disappointments. On April 30, 1749, Rose noted with pride that as many as 29 persons had received the sacraments at the courthouse. On August 7 he was able to present the vestry with orders for building four churches. Rose performed a number of christenings and especially enjoyed the weddings he conducted. The cleric always appreciated the festivities encompassed in these ceremonies as well as the attractive women. The weddings he officiated included those between Mathew Tucker and Lucretia Childers; John Barlowe and Hannah Dameron; Joshua Mathews and Martha Burton of Augusta (dissenters who had acquired a license); Penelope Lynch and John Adams; John Key and Agathy White; and 67-year-old Tabitha Gouldsby and 31-year-old John Bond. The rector noted on Christmas Day, 1750 that a great number of people attended prayers. Rose made the acquaintance of one William Miller, a retailer of whiskey. Caught up in the holiday revels in January 1751, the reverend despairingly noted in his diary:

I have drunk more whiskey than I ever did
before, and find when a man is heartily
fatigued anything will do instead of claret.⁴⁴

Rose's churchly activities often found him playing the role of mortician, doctor, and family counselor. On September 28, 1748, he called at the home of Richard Taliaferro who "lay dead in his house." At Dr. Cabell's on August 30, 1750, the minister mediated a dispute between James Christian and his sister. On October 4, 1748, he tried to encourage Margaret Jones who was "distracted by a disappointment in love." Rose visited a slave girl Maria, who "got cold in child Bed and dangerously sick." His slave Judith died at Piney River on December 24, 1749, the first of his slaves to die in the new area. The minister sympathized with John Key, brought down by diarrhea, and buried Susanna Jackson on his estate after she died from the effects of childbirth. His parishioners Luke Carroll and Mrs. Borish (?) suffered from convulsions and St. Vitus's Dance. As

William Cabell was the only experienced physician in the area Rose chose of ten to practice medicine on his own family, with varying results. On March 6, 1750, he feared he might have contracted gout in his right ankle. On November 1, 1748, he bled himself to the extend of twelve ounces for a cold and then fainted. Nine days later his daughter died from what Rose diagnosed as suffocation. His son John had been sick that October and the cleric prescribed that he eat dogwood bark. John recovered after "He vomited and threw up a large worm."

Rose's sermons were oriented towards New Testament texts, especially the Gospel of St. John. He also vited Matthew, Peter, Hebrews, Acts, James, Genesis, and Isaiah. Most of the parson's texts were summonses to a simple faith and morality. The reverend infrequently voiced scepticism concerning the quest for material wealth. Often this religious critique coincided with the real hazards of economic development. He noted in his entry of January 26, 1751, that a mill dam on Hat Creek had blown up after twenty days labor employing a great many hands. He added the terse comment: "Such are the profits of mills."⁴⁶

Reverend Rose possessed a modest library. On April 10, 1749, Rose gave Dr. Cabell a copy of Warburton's Definition of a Proper Essay on Man. The parson spent the evening of January 21, 1744, reading The Literal Scheme. Other secular works can only be guessed, but it is safe to presume that the cleric was a wide reader, given his broad range of interests and cosmopolitan contacts. Rose was also very interested in formal education. He sent his son and John Watts to John Nicholas's school on January 19, 1751. The following day, he gave Richard Powell 1 to buy Dycke's Spelling Book to tutor his sons. The reverend's activist vocation sharply reduced the amount of time available for literary perusal. He visited and dined with virtually all the prominent landowners of the Old Amherst region. Rose developed a particularly close friendship with Dr. Cabell and stood as godfather to Nicholas Cabell and Robert Horsley. On October 6, 1749, he even journeyed to the race track at Piney River with Lumsford Lomax. Many planters enjoyed his hospitality at Tye River as well. Mrs. Taliaferro, Mrs. Harvie, and MRs. Higginbotham, the last two godmothers of his children, were perhaps the most frequent guests. An ardent conversationalist, Rose recorded on September 29, 1748, that he stayed "discoursing" with two planters until noon.⁴⁷

The reverend rarely became embroiled in controversies with

other planters, one exception being a "tedious dispute" over John Howard's mill on August 14, 1750. The following day, he witnessed a court case, in which he had vested interests, between Harvie and Christian. The issue focused on the question of whether water carriers in dugout canoes were liable for damages. The water carriers were judged not to be responsible. Many Amherst area residents were involved in substantial litigation, but the missing records cloak most names and details.

Uppermost of Rose's secular concerns were the responsibilities of estate management. This ran the gamut from tobacco cultivation, arranging for its transportation, dealing with unexpected weather, to supervising laborers, buying and selling supplies, clearing roads, tending to slaves and worrying about their alleged misbehavior, and transacting overseas business, surveying, selling land, constructing buildings and conferring with lawyers. In all, he exulted and commiserated with his fellow planters over the progress and set backs of Old Amherst's development. Rose planted his first tobacco crop on June 17, 1748, at Rose Isle. Sometimes, he began as early as spring. The entire process from planting to exported hogsheads (generally casks of 1,000 pounds) generally required a minimum of four months. John Ross supplied the parson with a tobacco house as did John Mayfield who constructed a 40 x 20 x 10 foot structure. Rose's crop was generally exported either to Liverpool or to Richard Oswald & Co. of London. Often he farmed out tobacco land to tenants. He concluded a contract with Kendal J. Irving on December 11, 1750, to rent land in return for 44 percent of the inspected tobacco, payable annually from October 25, 1754. The best laid plans were often interdicted by harsh weather, and the parson lamented on September 27, 1750, that frost had killed everything.⁴⁹

Rose's estate contained a mill, blacksmith shop, and a carpenter's shop, and he also raised oats, wheat, Indian corn, barley, grapes, hemp, cattle, and sheep in addition to the staple crop. Robert Green built a barn on July 27, 1750, and John Williams on May 11, 1749, delivered a new cattle trough. Within a month after the latter delivery, Rose was worried that packs of wolves were decimating his cattle herds. Rose supplemented his rural diet with fish, catching some five dozen carp on June 14, 1748. To help wash all of these varied victuals down, Rose proudly announced the arrival on May 17, 1750, the first quarter cask of wine that "was ever on Tye River."⁵⁰

The reverend had mixed success with his overseers and laborers. Perhaps as many as 200 laborers and indentured servants,

mostly Scotch-Irish, worked for the parson. He occasionally lodged with his workers to check their progress. Maintenance was often hazardous. One David Mitchel tried unsuccessfully to raise a large stone on August 3, 1749, and within six days was dead from injuries he had received. Rose employed overseers and professional people who were both contentious and compatible. His overseer Franklin at Rose Isle seemed to be less than exemplary, and on March 21, 1749, Rose investigated the situation. Survey workers came under chastisement for sloppy boundary work on April 19, 1749. Thomas Jones was dismissed on September 24, 1749, for being drunk and absent fifty miles away contrary to orders. He was replaced by Thomas Ferne (?) on December 4, 1749, who was paid 1/9 of the tobacco and 1/10 of the corn crops for his services. In early 1750 Gilbert Hay left Rose's service and the Smith William Ward was dismissed for a doubloon for his work. Family nurse Ellen Mitchel was fired on May 29, 1750, for being unaccountably absent for nineteen days. Rose was generally very pleased with his overseer Kendal Savage and with Richard Ripley, who supervised tobacco exports. The reverend likewise lamented the death of an "Able" Negro named Hardy, who passed away on January 28, 1751.⁵¹

Rose's economic affairs were not at all self-contained and he depended on outside markets and contractors to create a prosperous estate. Slave labor was particular mobile among the Amherst region planters. Complaints of slave sabotage, though, left the gentry wary. It is also conceivable that blacks outnumbered whites in the area of Amherst at this time. Kate was hired to Andrew Johnston for the payment of 5 per year and a guarantee to supply her with clothes. Gitus was entrusted to deliver a shipment of goods to the Rappahannock River and Dean also drove periodically to Fredericksburg.

In 1750, Rose purchased two slaves from Richard Powell and rented several slaves from John Clayton. On March 17, 1750, Clayton checked to see how his slaves were faring. Claytong sent two overseers on December 29 to return his rented property. The following day one Kate was discovered to have absconded with a mare of the reverend. White indentured servants were also sometimes bound out. Francis Dean was apprenticed to John Parks on September 25, 1749, for a period of three years to learn the shoemaker's trade.⁵²

Rose maintained a very active commodity trade with his neighbors. The overseer to the Braxton land, Joseph Philips, bought

beef and pork from the minister in 1748. John Harvie collected supplies for him in Augusta in 1749. Rose returned later that year in double loom he had borrowed from George Munro. Thomas Jones delivered Rose Isle tobacco to the Cabells and John Blyzze, Captain Wilcox's overseer, received 1,760 pounds of tobacco transferred from John Murray. Supply wagons arrived periodically from Essex County. Johh Harvie delivered shipments of wheat, Ambrose Jones sold hogs, and Thomas Crawley exchanged a colt with the parson for 1,200 pounds of tobacco. Thomas Bell's wife sold a yard of cloth to the estate. In return for raw materials from the Tye and the Piney, Richard Oswald & Co. shipped manufactured and luxury goods from London. On April 7, 1749, Rose ordered goods worth 72 from London, drawn on bills of exchange issued to William Randolph and William Fauntleroy.⁵³

Even though estates were widely scattered, the sparceness of settlement and vaguely defined boundaries often forced unavoidable and unpleasant social contact. Regarding the Cabells, Rose was very "pleased" with the doctor, yet wished "Mrs. Cabal was forced into a Tobacco House by a Gust." Rose worried that the Nassau Tract of Harmer and King might border his lands, but after a personal survey and talks to the overseer Ambrose Jones, he decided this fortunately was not the case. Estates under this type of absentee ownership could suffer serious problems and cause headaches for their neighbors. In 1749 Rose accused Edward Carter's people of trespassing on his property. The Braxton land was temporarily thrown into chaos when its overseer deserted. Rose quickly appointed one of his own men, Francis Meeks, as temporary estate manager to prevent matters from returning to a state of nature. Outright theft was not unknown, and the reverend was forced at one point to reclaim stolen horses through litigation.⁵⁴

Rose's operations perhaps mirrored these other estates, though the scale was not usually as vast. At Dr. Cabell's he was intrigued enough with Mrs. Martin Duncan's sugar production that he recorded this as his day's primary entry. Affluence was less evident in properties excluding the absentee-controlled estates, but quite a few people in the Old Amherst area owned more than five slaves, the most obvious indicator of weath next to land. These included William Cabell, Joshua Fry (51), Peter Jefferson (59), Charles lynch (22), Robert Lewis, Henry Martin (8), Nicholas Meriwether (40), Edmund Gray (34 purchased in 1749), David Mills (12), Joseph Thompson (28), John Lewis, John Hunter, John Harmer (22) and James Nevil

10). The overall slave population of Albemarle in 1750 totaled 36 percent, so most of the slave population was centered north of the Fluvanna at that time.⁵⁵

Thomas Walker (1715-1794), Albemarle entrepreneur, western burgess, and explorer, who lived at the 11,000-acre "Castle Hill" estate in modern Albemarle, was also acquainted with Rose. Born in King and Queen County and educated at William and Mary, Walker managed a store in Fredericksburg in the 1730s, where he probably met Rose. After marrying into the Lewis family he moved to Albemarle in 1741 and joined William Cabell as the county's only other doctor. Walker, along with Amherst landowners Charles Lewis, Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, John Harvie, and colonial impressarion Edmund Pendleton, were members of the Loyal Company, organized in 1748 to develop 800,000 acres of land in the west. Rose visited Walker in July 1750, shortly after the latter's pioneering expedition to Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap. Walker and various Amherst area traders were very active in the fur trade before 1749. By 1750, this commerce had largely evaporated due to the receding frontiers and the removal of the Indians. The report of a scouting party near Thomas Walker's and William Woods's Homes in 1751 indicates that the Indians still occasionally passed through Albemarle.

Overall, commerce in this period remained light and was largely based on the planters' lands and slaves. Currency was very scarce, further strengthening the economic influence of the planters. Various English and foreign coinage was present in Albemarle, including the Johannes (worth 4.16), the guinea (1.8), the noidone? (1.16), the doubloon (4.10) and pistole (worth more than 1). Currency was generally used to pay quitrents to the king. In 1751 486,104 Albemarle acres had been paid for with 233,230 acres in arrears. The Crown received 437.9.11 and the sheriff's allotment was 48.12.2. The colony usually unsuccessfully badgered planters for nonpayment. Governor William Gooch in a letter of 1748 chastised Dr. Cabell for not properly remitting his quitrents.⁵⁷

The gentry in old Amherst often used the excuse of poor transportation and bad communication to avoid meeting colonial and financial obligations. Some of Robert Rose's multifarious activities also helped to remedy this deficit. Rose's commercial and ministerial interests quickly focused his attention on the problems of transportation. He kept meticulous records on distances involved in his travels. He noted on November 6, 1747, after returning to the

Northern Neck that he had logged 523 miles since last there. Rose noted in 1749 that he had traversed in one trip some 130 miles in St. Anne's Parish. From Fitzpatrick's on the Hardware to Rose's Buffalo Meadow section involved 22 miles. He recorded at various times that a trip to Joshua Fry's plantation or a journey to the Hardware River via Rich Cove consumed eight hours; that a ride from Urbanna to Tye River lasted from eleven in the morning into the middle evening, or as much as three days when he proceeded along a leisurely course. One could ride from Cabell's house to Rose Isle in four hours' time. Rose was able to ride from Tye to Piney River, transact his business, and return to his home by the late evening. The parson also made careful measurements of his estate grounds. He determined that a mile separated his corn house from the Secretary's Road; and that there were 342 poles (a modern pole represents a square rod or 30 1/4 square yards) between the ford of the Piney to the Tye 630 poles from the ford of the Tye running by his house to near the mouth of the Piney and 160 poles from his house to the overseer's building.⁵⁸

Travel was sometimes impeded by snow-up to 14 inches in the winter of 1750--and by floods. Rose was generally able to orient himself on his expeditions, but on one occasion he confessed to getting lost en route from Fry's to Anthony's plantation, despite having the services of a guide. He finally found a friend's estate around midnight. The reverend decided subsequently to build additional roads. For six days in early 1749, he worked on the Buffalo River Road to Captain Wilcox's road, some two miles from a tobacco rolling road. With thirty-six laborers, he constructed one bridge over Naked Creek and part of another over a spring branch. On June 6, 1750, he reconnoitered the path for a road from Hat Creek over Raccoon Creek to "the Thoroughfare." Later that summer Rose was granted permission to open a road to Rockfish. In August he surveyed another road from Hat Creek via a pass to the Ragged Mountain. His final road operation was in an unidentified area on February 8, 1751. Rose was well aware that he was performing a public service. The parson grumbled that he did "my neighbors a pleasure before I have got necessarys for myself."⁵⁹

Rose's most enduring contribution to communication was his invention of the doubled dugout canoe for transporting hogsheads of tobacco. On February 14, 1749, shortly after completing a road, he rode to Rose Isle where Richard Ripley and his people were making a new canoe to carry tobacco. The following day, Ripley and three men

carried barrels of corn, barley, and spare tools down stream. On the sixteenth one of the tobacco canoes left the mouth of Piney River to load some of Harvie's hogsheads at the mouth of the Tye. Several years later, the Reverend James Maury of Fredericksville Parish in Albemarle described Rose's system in some detail. Eight or nine hogsheads were rolled to the boats and place crossways on the gunwhales, "secured against moving fore or aft by a small piece of wood drove under the bilge of the two extreme hogsheads; an almost incredible weight for such slender embarkations." The canoes rested only a few inches above water, but were able to move very fast. On the return trip, two-man teams of slaves paddled up stream using poles as oars.⁶⁰ In May 1749 Rose's slave Titus had to abandon one canoe because of flooding. Some of the tobacco was swept downstream across from the Seven Islands. Henry Thomas and four slaves navigated canoe shipments in March 1750. The boat overseers were usually white, but the crew were invariably slaves. Rose's most ambitious shipment occurred on June 27, 1750. His "water men" returned home after delivering 52 hogsheads of tobacco, including those of Rose, Goodwin, Bengier, Edward Spencer, Timothy O'Brian, Thomas Jones, and William Ogilly(?).⁶¹ Rose's invention was the predecessor of Ambrose Rucker's more developed bateaux system. These two means of transport together did more to link Amherst with eastern Virginia and integrate the region's economy than any other development before the James River Canal.

There was no formal postal system. Even so, mail did reach Old Amherst on an irregular basis through traveling friends and official messengers sent to the county courthouse. James Christian and John Hunter were among those active in delivering diverse communications. One could stop periodically at the courthouse to pick up accumulated mail. Messengers often scooped the Virginia Gazette. Rose, for example, found out from Benjamin Higginbotham that Governor Gooch had returned home after John Robinson, Sr.'s death.

The Reverend Rose's success in unifying and developing the Amherst frontier was due in part to his cosmopolitan contacts and vision, which most of the resident landowners lacked. For all of the time he spent in Old Amherst, Rose never ceased to travel and visit old friends in the Northern Neck, Williamsburg, and the Chesapeake Bay coast. Rose even had connections in continental Europe through Roger Elliot, governor of Gibraltar and half-brother of Alexander Spotswood. Rose had established himself at Tye River for only 44 days before he returned to Fredericksburg. In 1749 he left

Albemarle again after only 48 days. The parson was an intrepid traveler who could improvise when pressed. One morning he skipped breakfast and discovered on the road "about one, a cake of Indian Bread which I and my Horse ate up." The reverend much preferred the relative luxury of ample accommodations. He became a regular guest at many homes as well as Beal's, Rennold's, and Hankin's ordinaries and the Raleigh Tavern. Spotswood's cousin John Graham, a professor, gave him entree into the College of William and Mary. Rose assuredly was involved in larger colonial political issues, but his diary entries commemorate only the social fetes.⁶²

On December 7, 1748, Rose reached Williamsburg, dined at the Raleigh Tavern, and "spent the evening with the president of the Council; the Speaker, Col. Beverley..." The following night he supped with Commissary Dawson and Colonel Lomax. Three days later the minister was the guest of the Nelsons in Yorktown. Governor Dinwiddie and other notables sometimes corresponded with him. In June 1749, Rose lodged at the Randolph's Tuckahoe plantation, where he met young Thomas Jefferson, and later visited Speaker Robinson and the Braxtons. Rose was even able to obtain money from Robinson as partial payment for the latter's debt to Spotswood's estate. On another visit to Williamsburg, Rose lodged with a Mr. Cole, a renowned silversmith. His curiosity, business interests, and pastoral duties carried him into Augusta County for the month of January 1751. There the cleric met the frontiersmen John Peter Salley, Benjamin Borden, and Colonel James Patton (d. 1755). On Rose's last trip to Williamsburg, he conversed with Peter Randolph at Raleigh Tavern.⁶³

The rest of the Amhest settlers could not afford to ignore political events in Williamsburg either, despite their local preoccupations. Taxes, patents, licenses, edicts, and wars all focused attention on developments in the capital. The infant Albemarle County was conceived and weaned in the waning days of Governor Gooch's administration. By the end of his tenure in 1749, 14 additional counties of Virginia had been created. The old war horse had been offered the command of American troops against Canada in King George's War, but he had declined. In 1746, Gooch tried to interest Virginians in conquering Canada, but was met with general apathy. Virginians remained little concerned with events in the other colonies until the 1750s. Virginians took little interest in the war itself except to safeguard against Indian incursions.

The end of the war in 1748 did rivet colonial attention to the possibilities of land investment. England attempted to create a buffer zone in the Ohio Valley and the west against the French. John Robinson organized the Greenbrier Company to exploit these new lands. A number of Northern Neck speculators, such as Lord Fairfax, Council President Thomas Lee, Richard H. Lee, George Washington, and George Mason, joined the Ohio Company for the same purpose. Many of these men were Rose's acquaintances. Most of the interested Amherst area entrepreneurs entered the Loyal Company, which was backed financially by London merchants, some Maryland planters, the governor of North Carolina, and the Carters. This land outfit was given rights to 500,000 acres, much of it east of the Alleghenies. Peyton Randolph and a consortium received 400,000 acres on the New River. On the single day of July 12, 1749, more than one million acres were granted, with a paltry 2,078 acres taken up in Albemarle. These figures dwarfed into insignificance even the most extravagant grants in the Amherst region.

By 1749 settlements had sprouted beyond the Alleghenies into the New River and Draper's Meadow. Thus, the paper frontier was removed quite some distance from Albemarle. That county's borders by 1750 touched Lunenburg to the south, Augusta and Amelia on the southwest and west, Culpeper (organized in 1749) to the north, and Cumberland, Louisa and Goochland in the east. The expansion of land reopened the political issue of the dissident Protestants who normally settled frontier lands. The Enlightenment, as represented by Jonathan Edwards, George Whitfield, John Wesley, and Samuel Davies (who received his license in 1747 and was active in Virginia from 1748-1753) attracted growing support. One of Gooch's last actions was to issue a proclamation in 1747 against itinerant ministers and to urge county magistrates to discourage New Light Presbyterians, Moravians, and Methodists from proselytizing in the colony. Fortunately for the sake of civil harmony, the edict had little effect in Albemarle.⁶⁴

Most specific enactments affecting Albemarle originated in the House of Burgesses. Perhaps as many as 75 percent of the adult white males in the Amherst area were eligible to vote in burgess elections, but how many exercised their franchise is unknown. The fragmented settlement patterns, preoccupation with plantation matters, and disinterest in the daily fare of colonial politics probably tended to keep the turn-out low on most election days. Respect for the local social hierarchy was carried over into burgess selections.

Burgesses were expected to be men of substantial means with already proven leadership ability. True frontier democracy may have been possible in theory, but the power of the gentry class usually prevailed in practice. Even county jury qualifications of 1748 specified minimum cash holdings of 50, beyond the reach of most small farmers. Burgess candidates were presumably selected by a consensus of recognized county leaders.

Predictably enough, presiding magistrate Joshua Fry was chosen as the single representative of Albemarle in February 1745 and he was placed on the Committee of Propositions and Grievances. Resolutions were passed in March 1745 urging the opening of the rest of the Fluvanna and creating a tobacco warehouse at Westham. Both measures were strongly supported by Albemarle interests. In 1746 Braxton and Fry both were involved in ferry legislation. Burgess John Harmer, with an eye to Albemarle back settlements, in 1746 prepared a bill to encourage the raising of hemp. Harmer resigned in 1747 and within several years returned permanently to England. His trading associate Walter King also departed for England. After meeting with Councillor John Blair, he arrived in the mother country in 1752 where he spent the rest of his life. Other burgesses with land interests in Amherst before 1761 included John Chiswell of Hanover, John Robinson of Essex, John Bolling of Henrico, Charles Lewis and John Harvie representing Augusta, and Lumsford Lomax of Caroline and Philip Grymes at Middlesex. In 1747 Joshua Fry was involved in legislation regularizing sheriffs and promoting a new town on the York River. Stith's History of Virginia, published in that year, had a significant impact on the colony by focusing Virginia's attention on geopolitics and western settlement.⁶⁵

New elections were held in 1748 with Fry and Charles Lynch returned from Albemarle. Lynch was not at all conspicuous in legislation. His only mention in the journal of the House of Burgesses merely notes his appointment to the Committee of the Courts of Justice. Fry was considerably more visible. He was placed on the Committee of Privileges and Elections, where he served with Carter, Lomax, and Braxton; and on Propositions and Grievances with Chiswell, Braxton, Bolling, Spotswood, Lomax and Grymes. Despite Fry's growing influence, Albemarle was relatively impotent in the colony's politics. Goochland had twice as many committee assignments and Henrico had more than three times its respective share. Fry provided what little institutional voice the county had. He continued to be active in various aspects of town planning and other legislative concerns. In November he was appointed member of a

group to investigate one Mary Johnson's claim that she could cure cancer. By year's end, Fry had worked on bills that would enable non-tobacco farmers to discharge their fees in money and pushed parochial legislation that attempted to curb excessive gambling. A number of petitions from Albemarle were considered and rejected in 1748, including a proposal to clear the Rockfish River, but Albemarle was reimbursed for various expenses incurred in setting up its new government. Other bills that affected Amherst planters included these establishing quarter sessions of the court, authorizing the payment of sterling debts at 25 percent discount if paid in currency, reducing the sheriff's term from two years to one, granting county courts full powers over orphans, establishing a warehouse on William Byrd's land, and limiting hunting.⁶⁶

In early 1749 Fry was deeply involved with legislation regulating "practitioners in Physics, Chirurgery, & Pharmacy," as well as measures to curb vagrants. After their passage, he presented both bills to the Council. He later helped head a burgess protest against a Council bill on the support of the College of William and Mary. Fry worked on other bills in the 1749 session concerning the establishment of currency rates and encouraging settlement on the western frontier. Another act encouraged iron and other mine workers. In a law passed May 2 that had profound consequences on Virginia for more than 120 years, slaves were declared part of the planters' personal estates. The House justified this on the grounds that "Negroes, being the most valuable Part of our Property, without whom our lands are of little Value."⁶⁷

Many burgesses had become dissatisfied with the insularity and alleged depravity of Williamsburg. Although there were considerable efforts to move the capital to a more central location, conservative Tidewater interests defeated all proposals and left the frontier in awkward isolation. When a fire destroyed the capitol the only response of the Council was to issue moral admonitions:

The raging fire...is an awful
Incitement to a general Reformation
of manners, the best
Expedient for averting the
wrathful Indignation of an
Incensed God.

Towns of any sort made little headway against the rural interests of the planters. Alexandria was organized in 1747 and Petersburg in 1748, but they were the exceptions to the general rule.

Due to his surveying skills, Dr. Cabell was summoned to lay off lots for Beverley Town above Richmond in 1751. A number of Amherst landowners held plots therein including Carter Braxton, Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, John Bolling, John Chiswell, Samuel Spencer and Robert Rose. Rose also owned lots in Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Westham. The cleric was invited to aid in the construction of Richmond in April 1751 and made his last fateful trip east. In June he contracted a fever and died on the thirtieth. Rose was buried on the Fourth of July at St. John's Church in Richmond, the first interment in the church's cemetery.⁶⁸

Rose's bequests were left to his nephew Robert, his brothers, sons, daughters Susanna and Margaret, brother-in-law Thomas Fitzhugh, and John Miller. His son John inherited Rose Isle, Hugh obtained the site of Geddes, Patrick occupied Firmont in modern Nelson, and Charles was bequeathed Bellevat, also in Nelson. Rose's contemporaries left the following assessment on his tombstone:

His extraordinary genius and command
of all the polite and useful arts of
life, though equalled by few, were yet
exceeded by the great goodness of heart.⁶⁹

After Rose's death, the Anglican church in the area went into a precipitous decline. No future parson could match Rose's connections, grace, wit, tact, of affluence.⁷⁰

Wealth was certainly an important aspect given the planters' feeling that land and slaves were bestowed by God's grace and signified status and responsibility. The seeds for the established church's undoing, though, had already been planted during Rose's lifetime. Rose's gentry manners and generally low-key sermons certainly did not appeal to struggling farmers and tenants who were jealous of the established political order and denounced the privileges of the Anglicans. The Scotch-Irish emigrating from the Valley had little connection with or feeling for Anglo-Saxon gentry life along the southern rivers. They also suffered from many religious restrictions. Marriages by Presbyterian ministers were not legally recognized until 1749, though the Presbyterians continued to flourish just the same. Luke McCann in 1745 patented land in the forks of the upper Rockfish and conveyed one acre in 1746 to John

Reid (a county magistrate), James Robertson, and James Bell for them to establish the Rockfish Presbyterian Church and school.

The religious revival of Europe, culminating with Methodism in England and pietism in Germany, eventually made its presence felt in Virginia and Old Amherst in the 1740s. This Great Awakening outflanked even orthodox Presbyterians like Samuel Black and John Craig and released an evangelical flood-tide of New Light Presbyterians, lower middle-class Methodist-Anglicans, Baptists and Moravians. These poorer and often illiterate settlers were ministered to by divines like William Robinson, John Blair, and John Roam. There may have been some connection between the German church community of modern Madison County, which originated from the principality of Meusen-Siegen in Nassau-Siegen, Westphalia, and the Nassau Creek settlement. Quakers in western Amherst also carried the banner against Anglican formalism. The first Quaker meeting in the area occurred on Sugar Loaf Mountain in 1746. The true dimensions of the Anglican Church's crisis still remained masked until the immediate pre-Revolutionary period.⁷⁰

Robert Rose had been granted land in the region of Old Amherst when it was literally no more than a howling wilderness settled by a few trappers, traders, and squatters. By the time of his death, the Amherst area was emerging as a distinctive society combining frontier ingenuity and independence with the more traditional cultural values of the eastern gentry. Rose's life marked the birth of one society and heralded the death throes of another. The reverend's western Piedmont witnessed the last of Virginia's tranquility and harmony before political and military strife beset the colony almost continuously until the Revolution. Never again at such a decisive time in Old Amherst would a single individual be as influential, as cosmopolitan, and represent so many interests and talents that contributed to the spiritual and material growth of the region. Rose left many legacies, but the most important was imparting a distinctive style, substance and consciousness to a rapidly growing connection of Amherst area settlements.

THE DOCTOR'S PRACTICE: THE WESTERN PIEDMONT OF WILLIAM CABELL SR. 1751-1756

I understand by Captain Aselly (?), you
seem to have a very promising project
in that remote part of the world, to

establish a monument of honor and credit to the name.

---Charles Carter to Dr. William Cabell⁷¹

At the time of Robert Rose's death, Dr. William Cabell, fifty-one years old, could claim great landed wealth, professional distinction, and the respect of most of his fellow citizens, but only moderate political and social prestige in Albemarle as a whole. Although the earliest prominent resident of the Amherst region, the doctor was only first among equals in western Albemarle. Within five years though, Cabell was catapulted into the innermost circle of the Albemarle leadership and his family enjoyed undisputed power in emergent Amherst. As a result of the doctor's successes in these years, the Cabell family exercised uninterrupted hegemony in Old Amherst from 1756 until the creation of Nelson County more than fifty years later. This is a remarkable testimonial to the doctor's political and social prowess and the family's staying power.

A descendant, Nathaniel Francis Cabell, penned the following description of the dynasty's founder:

In person he was tall, much above the common height; of figure rather spare, but lithe and active, and with great powers of endurance. In feature he was decidedly aquiline, with a piercing black eye... While he was ever amiable and affectionate in his family, the ancient awe and filial reverence were extended to him by his sons long after the latter had themselves attained to middle life and an assured position in society. He mingled freely with all ranks in the colony, from the highest to the humblest, and probably no man of his day had a more extensive acquaintance throughout the middle region of Virginia, from the mountains to the metropolis...

While he was accessible to all, among his equals he was a genial companion, and his store of knowledge made him the life of the social circle wherever he went. Hundreds of his quaint or pithy sayings were long current in the region; and numberless anecdotes were also related of him...But these were better left to tradition, as some were probably apocryphal and others exaggerated.

He was a man of method, economical of time and diligent in business... His courage, physical and moral, was

undoubted... He was both just and liberal, faithful in the discharge of all public trusts, and an enemy to all abuse. On feeling the approach of age he resigned his several posts... His study became his sanctum, and he left behind a good library for his day. The frequent additions to his library of approved medical works as they were issued in England authorize the belief that he pursued this study not solely as a source of profit, but as a branch of liberal science, and that without any neglect of the other branches of physical science, as well as history and the belles-lettres generally...His way of thinking on such subjects (i.e., religion) was what... was called "free."⁷²

This historian Alexander Brown recorded additional impressions of the doctor: "Some thought him eccentric, sarcastic, humorous, anecdotal." As illustration, Brown relates that Cabell usually carried a bottle of whiskey on his surveying trips. Whenever the physician saw a rattlesnake, he stopped to kill it, cut off its head and placed the body in the whiskey bottle. Brandishing his concoction of rattlesnake whiskey, he persuaded his chain carriers to consume the potion as good luck and as a test of their mettle. Another story of Cabell's forceful opinions and presence his him called into court to judge if a man called to testify was ineligible because of Negro ancestry. Dr. Cabell allegedly walked up to him, tweaked his nose and said, "There is no gristle -- he is a Negro." The court, as the story goes, accepted Cabell's explanation and barred the man's testimony.⁷³

Cabell's eccentricities, however, did not prevent him from acquiring an excellent reputation as a physician. His practice covered Goochland, Albemarle, Augusta, Charlotte, and Prince Edward counties. On his visits, he charged between 1 and 5, depending on the distance. His son John was brought along as an assistant. More serious medical cases were treated at a hospital on Swan Creek where the doctor could supply wooden legs, constructed by his artisans, at ten shillings a piece, and coffins, if the need arose. Patients in the hospital were charged from 5 to 100, payable only upon cure. The occasional burials were performed free. Cabell carried a full stock of apothecary wares including Bateman's drops, Andrew's pills, Slaughter's bitters, emetics, plasters, and blisters. Rhubarb was a favorite panacea of Cabell's. Overall, the doctor's medical practice made him an invaluable member of the community and earned him the gratitude of prominent land owners. These included Joshua Fry

who was a regular patient.⁷⁴

The doctor had less medical success with his wife, Elizabeth Burks. She died of malaria in 1756. She was the mother of his five sons and one daughter. Elizabeth had the reputation of being pious, having native good sense, and being literate and able to write. She was often entrusted with estate management in her husband's absence. After her death, Cabell married in 1762 Margaret Meredith, widow of Samuel Meredith of Hanover. This was a less happy match than the previous one. Margaret Cabell died in 1768 after a turbulent six-year marriage.⁷⁵

Cabell's surveying skills were another factor for his growing popularity in the 1750s. The doctor was appointed county surveyor from 1753 to 1761 and in yet another respect made himself invaluable to the other leading planters. As a justice and a merchant, he interwove himself further into the social fabric of Old Amherst.

He transacted business with Lumsford Lomax, buying some 1,124 pounds of pork and bought 3.2.3 worth of books from William Allen in 1755. Cabell paid L15.8 net duty on thirteen slaves sold by James Graham.⁷⁶

The doctor also entertained extensively, aided by a sixteen-gallon still. Cabell further increased his political and economic influence through tenants and indentured servants. In 1752 he concluded the following apprenticeship contract; his employee "was not to waste or embezzle wilfully his said master's goods, nor to frequent ordinaries or any such place without leave." The apprentice was further barred from playing cards, dice, or marrying without permission. In return for services, his master would furnish meat, drink, washing, lodging, reading, writing, and the tanner's trade.⁷⁷

Cabell's county-wide political fortunes remained modest until his senior colleagues were removed by death. At one point his fellow magistrates in the Albemarle court accused him of malfeasance of parishfunds, but the subsequent investigation vindicated him. At various other times, he struggled with other justices over county patronage. Cabell lobbied unsuccessfully in the House of Burgesses concerning a ferry and wrote Burgess George Carrington for assistance. Carrington responded on June 17, 1775: "I will endeavor to do something about your Ferry, tho 'tis too late to prefer the Petition. I'll see if I can do it by a motion. " ⁷⁸ Cabell met with disappointment on this issue.

Cabell also found himself in the midst of a population explosion. The population of Albemarle continued dramatic expansion after Reverend Rose's death. By 1755 the community's size had increased

by 20 percent from that of 1745. White population tended to grow faster than black.⁷⁹ Total continental colonial population reached 1,170,000 in 1750, with Virginia as the most populous colony with 230,000 residents in 1755. The Amherst region ceased to be the frontier in 1754 with the creation of Bedford County from Lunenburg and additions from Albemarle to the new county in 1755. Prince Edward County was formed in the south in 1754. The Amherst area settlers found they had gained another buffer zone just in time as the French and Indian menace presented western Virginia with its greatest peril to date. Political affairs in Williamsburg commanded more interest from the Amherst planters than ever before.

Robert Dinwiddie, born 1693, arrived as governor in November 1751. The Scot was a competent politician, but according to the historian Richard Morton, lacked Gooch's "graciousness and understanding." Conflict with the English Crown began almost immediately with George II's disallowance of many enacted statutes. Dinwiddie aggravated matters by insisting in 1752 that no land patent could be valid without the payment of a pistole, a Spanish coin, in return for the colonial seal. William Stith championed the planters' cause against the pistole fee and symbolized the opposition by running for the presidency of William and Mary against the governor's wishes.

Had the vacancy at the College not occurred, Stith probably would have permanently removed to Old Amherst. Instead, Stith was elected president and served until his death in 1755. Richard Bland (1710-1776), who was the brother-in-law of Rose's friend William Beverley, led the struggle against Dinwiddie in the House of Burgesses and wrote various pamphlets condemning the illegality of the pistole. On November 14, 1753, a petition reached the House of Burgesses from Albemarle, which denounced the pistole fee as an un-warranted harship. Joshua Fry was appointed to a committee that addressed a formal protest to the king. The Privy Council eventually upheld Dinwiddie in theory, but undercut the fee in actual practice. In the end, the colonists felt they had triumphed in defeating illegal taxation. Dinwiddie reconciled himself with the colonists and Virginia turned its attention to the incursions of the French and Indians.⁸⁰

The colony attempted to ensure its security with the Indians through the Logstown conference held with the Iroquois in 1752. Joshua Fry and Lumsford Lomax were among the Virginia commissioners at that parlay. The French continued to attack the Indian allies of the English and Virginia prepared to go on a war

footing. In 1753 colonial defenses were strengthened with the creation of four militia districts. Thomas Walker was appointed one adjutant, and as commissary he was ordered to forage the western counties for hogs, cattle, and herdsmen. Defense funds of 20,000 were appropriated the following year. In a 1755 law that remained in effect until 1773, all fit males, between the ages of eighteen and sixty regardless of race but excluding imported servants, were required to attend militia musters. George Washington was ordered to mobilize an expeditionary force from the frontier counties and Joshua Fry was appointed commanding officer of the First Virginia Regiment on March 1, 1754.⁸¹

Fry was selected for this post because he had become the acknowledged spokesman in colonial politics for the strategic western frontier. In the House of Burgesses he was probably the most influential western representative. In the 1752 session, Fry was appointed to the Committee of Privileges and Elections and served with Chiswell and Lomax on Propositions and Grievances. With Lomax, he prepared yet another bill against excessive gaming. Subsequently appointed to the Committee of Claims, Fry helped to incorporate the town of Westham. With Chiswell, he guided a bill that would aid in the clearing of the Fluvanna and on his own supported measures that would encourage foreign Protestants to settle in the west. The Albemarle burgess also dealt with administration procedures, considered a proposed cure for dry gripes, and was chosen to address the governor on foreign policy. In late March 1754 Fry abandoned the legislative halls for the battle front and marched his troops to northern Virginia to confront the French. Lieutenant Colonel Washington was sent ahead to man the forks of the Ohio. As preliminary skirmishes were being fought, Colonel Fry's horse slipped, pinning its rider. The Albemarle leader died of his injuries at Cumberland, Maryland, on May 31, 1754.⁸²

Washington was reinforced by Fry troops, but the absence of Fry's sober judgment caused Washington to blunder at Fort Necessity. The young officer was forced to surrender his demoralized Albemarle and western soldiers on July 4. The emergency paradoxically caused the Old Dominion to become even more insular. The colony rejected attempts made at Albany for intercolonial union. In October the House of Burgesses raised additional war funds by placing a special tax on all tithables. Since Virginia's militia laws prevented companies from being marched out of their home counties, vagrants were impressed into service for one year and

shipped north. General Edward Braddock was sent to Virginia to repair the damage inflicted along the frontier. Yet even with professional British grenadiers and nine Virginia companies, Braddock managed only to compound the catastrophe by being massacred at Fort Duquesne in July 1755. Only thirty Virginians survived the catastrophe, with one Amherst man, Joseph Newman, among them.⁸³

Dinwiddie mobilized four companies of rangers to protect the wide-open frontier and ordered the construction of a cordon of forts. One fortification was erected on Landon Hughe's land in Amherst, some three miles from the north and south forks of the Rockfish River. Although well positioned because of its location on a hill surrounded by flat land, it had to be abandoned because rocks undermined the installation's foundations.⁸⁴

Arms and ammunition were transported to Albemarle. The General Assembly met in August 1755 and raised 40,000 by placing a poll tax of one shilling on every tithe and a land tax of 15 pence per 100 acres to run the next four years. Parish workhouses were established, with each inmate provided a badge with the name of the parish in blue, red, or green cloth. The poorhouses were part of the ministers' responsibilities for providing vital statistics to the colonial secretary. Tobacco debts were allowed to be discharged in money by the Two Penny Act. Price controls were placed on Indian corn. Even with these stringent measures, Indians roamed much of the frontier at will and some of the frontier contracted as much as 150 miles.⁸⁵

Amherst area residents prepared for an influx of refugees and girded themselves for possible Indian raids. Despite the war crisis, civil legislation affecting the Amherst region was also enacted. Much of it placed a financial squeeze on the frontier. The county sheriff was ordered in 1752 to collect the duty on imported slaves. In 1753 an additional 5 percent tax was placed on slaves and other taxes were slapped on vehicles, ordinaries, and legal papers. Some relief measures were taken to aid Albemarle in its summer drought of 1755. Some taxes went to rebuilding the colonial capitol and to pay for the outstanding debts from King George's War. Much time was consumed in the 1753 session on revising tobacco laws. One of the provisions specified procedures for Albemarle planters to use in tobacco inspection. The House rejected a motion that would give the magistrates supervisory power over the nearest warehouse inspectors. License fees for pedlars were also increased. Albemarle's major legislative efforts concerned the clearing of streams. The

county was only partly successful in this effort. The only clearing operation allowed was on the Fluvanna. Trustees were authorized to collect six pence per hogshead of tobacco brought down stream to pay for this clearance. Albemarle was also allowed to repay hemp producers with public money.⁸⁶

Allen Howard had been elected a burgess with Fry in 1752. Howard did not share his colleague's favorable spotlight. He was placed on the Committee of Public Claims. Howard dealt with legislative matters covering territorial units, including the town of Westham, militia laws, and appropriations. He was granted a ferry but his bids either to clear the Rockfish or establish a mill on that river were rejected. Howard was reelected in 1754, but even with Fry's death was still not very prominent in legislative affairs.⁸⁷

Peter Jefferson (1708-1757) was elected to fill Fry's vacancy. He was more concerned with local affairs and estate management than with making his mark in the House of Burgesses. Jefferson was placed on the Courts of Justice Committee. He also directed bills covering territorial redistricting and tobacco production. Jefferson followed Fry's earlier efforts and promoted clearance of the Fluvanna. Between raising his family in Goochland, administering the Tuckahoe plantation and serving as Albemarle County Lieutenant after Fry's death until 1757, Jefferson understandably took little part in Williamsburg politics.⁸⁸

Governor Dinwiddie heartily disapproved of the independence of the burgesses and decided to dissolve them in November 1755. He hoped that a new crop of burgesses would be more amenable to his plans. Even though a substantial turnover occurred, the planter leaders were returned and the new burgesses tended to be as feisty as their predecessors. Among those elected were John Nicholas and William Cabell from Albemarle. Cabell's selection was determined partly by his wide social contacts and partly by default.

Fry and Lynch had been removed from competition by death. Howard's tenure had not been spectacular while his power base had been temporarily eroded by alienating other planters. Jefferson probably removed himself voluntarily since he remained county lieutenant. In any case he died in little over a year. The scions of Tidewater gentry who could have had the post, like Lomax and Carter, chose to live elsewhere. Carter Braxton was also geographically removed. The other Albemarle justices either did not have the motivation, lacked the social base, or suffered from inexperience.

It was also generally recognized that the western end of Albemarle should be represented by a burgess of its own, given the area's growing population and influence in county matters. Other powerful Amherst area planter families like the Roses, Reids, Taliaferros, and Nevils had lost their senior members recently through death. The eldest sons were still too young or inexperienced to handle such responsibilities.⁸⁹

Despite some political frictions, Dr. Cabell remained the only eligible and experienced residency of his generation. By consensus of most of the other planters, he was undoubtedly seen as next in line for a House seat after Peter Jefferson. The remaining political clout in the Amherst region at this time was largely shared by the Nevil family and John Reid, sheriff of Albemarle in 1757. The year 1756 proved to be a watershed in the political and social history of Old Amherst. The Cabells were later elevated to state-wide office and remained in the General Assembly for most of forty years, with few breaks in continuity.

CABELLS' IN THE FOREGROUND, WAR IN THE BACK COUNTRY

Cabell and Nicholas entered a House of Burgesses with 102 representatives, including William Calloway of Bedford, Gabriel Jones of Augusta, Benjamin Harrison of Charles City, George William Fairfax of Fairfax, William Randolph of Henrico, John Robinson of King and Queen, Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex, Charles Carter of King George, Landon Carter of Richmond, John Spotswood of Spotsylvania, Robert Carter Nicholas of York, Augustine Washington of Westmoreland, and Peyton Randolph of the College of William and Mary. As unknown newcomers thrust in the midst of many luminaries, neither Albemarle justice made much headway. Nicholas was appointed to Propositions and Grievances and dealt with ferries, treasury accounts, various claims, and a bill that prohibited fraudulent gifts of slaves. Cabell was placed on Courts of Justice and helped prepare bills to raise money for recruits and regulate trade with the Indians. One of Cabell's proposed ferries was approved and the other rejected.⁹⁰

Legislative activity remained essentially focused on the war. The General Assembly passed a militia law in 1756 raising twelve companies of soldiers from vagrants and those not eligible to vote. A number of volunteer companies were raised by the burgesses. New

taxes were levied on slaves, tobacco, tithes, and land to cover the next three years. By the end of 1758 Albemarle was saddled with the heaviest taxes it had ever known. Deficit war spending had now mortgaged the colony's future up through 1765. The Albemarle planters attempted to rectify their tax burden by petitioning for a poll tax to replace the land tax, and urged the restriction of paper money to curb inflation along with a proposal for a loan office. Merchant and Tidewater interests combined to defeat all of the proposals.⁹¹

To aid the crippled colonial economy, the British war embargo on Virginia shipping was lifted. At the second session, money was raised to recruit Virginians for the Royal American Regiment being sent to the northern colonies as the threat to Virginia receded. One-half of the Albemarle militia was ordered out to the frontier and ordinaries were required to billet the troops at public expense. In June 1757 the county militia was reimbursed for 622.18.8. At the height of the war panic in 1756, Albemarle petitioned for a network of defensive forts and a factor for Indian trade to mollify the Indians. The planters were also perturbed by slave unrest which occurred whenever civil tranquility was threatened.⁹²

Dinwiddie resigned in 1758 because of ill health and was replaced by Governor Francis Fauquier, who served from 1758 to 1768. The House of Burgesses was dissolved in April and Fauquier arrived in June. Fauquier was the last of the extremely popular colonial governors and probably the most brilliant. He had been educated at Cambridge University, had profited by astute business deals, had served in the army, and was a versatile musician. As a member of the Royal Society, he was recognized as an accomplished natural scientist. A true Enlightenment figure, Fauquier could identify equally with cosmopolitan pursuits and Virginia planter interests. His fondness for gambling and social pleasures also linked him with the gentry class.⁹³

William Cabell and Allen Howard were elected to the House of Burgesses and took their seats on September 14, 1758. The question arises, however, of which William Cabell this was. Most sources give the office to the doctor's son, even though the Cabell representative is not listed in the journal of the House of Burgesses as "junior" until the 1760's. In the absence of definitive information and in light of circumstantial evidence, it will be assumed that the younger Cabell did hold the position. It seems likely that his father was increasingly tired of public life at age 58 and had decided to phase out his

activities in favor of his son. The doctor's highest political ambitions had been gratified by his own burgess election and he probably felt that he had nothing left to prove politically. Given the amount of influence Dr. Cabell had amassed by this time, he would have been able to swing the election in his son's behalf.

The oldest son of six children, William Cabell, Jr. (1730-1798) was no novice, having built up a substantial career of his own. His father had groomed him for public service and estate management from childhood. Born in Goochland, he was literate by the age of eight, receiving a prayer book, Bible and small gun as presents from his father, then in England. Cabell probably attended William and Mary and returned to help his father in surveying work in 1749. From 1751 to 1761 he was a vestryman in St. Anne's Parish, served as a deputy sheriff from 1751-1753, and was appointed a captain in the militia in 1751. The younger Cabell was farming on his own in 1752 and purchased 2,700 acres on Tobacco Row Mountain for 12.5. He bought two slaves from William Megginson and Rev. William Hall, paying the minister 37.10.0 or three times the value of his land. From 1753-1754 Cabell, Jr., worked as an assistant surveyor under Joshua Fry and served under that burgess as a major in the county militia. In 1754 he raised a troop of calvary to aid Fry against the French. The following year he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the county militia. He reached his social maturity in 1756 by marrying Margaret Jordan and receiving a magistrate's later of Buckingham County. An anecdote is told that the other sisters had shunted the step-sister. He promptly began courting her.⁹⁴

William Cabell, Jr.'s, rise to burgesses was at least as much due to this methodical career advancement as to his father's boosting. The young burgess arrived for his first session at Williamsburg along with two other legislative green horns of great renown, Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794) and George Washington (1732-1799). Although all three held important posts in the Revolution, Cabell did not have the legislative muscle exerted by his contemporaries in these early years. He was placed on Courts of Justice and dealt with bills covering claims, entailed lands, territorial divisions, parliamentary procedure, and low priority demands of his constituents. His most active work was in behalf of a 1759 Albemarle petition to fix the price of corn, since war shortages of essential foodstuffs were causing extreme hardship in the west. Cabell stage managed the entire proceeding, guided the legislation through

passage, and carried the enrolled bill to Council, where it was vetoed. Through this experience, Cabell registered his first resentment towards the British-imposed legislative system in Virginia.⁹⁵

Allen Howard's return to the House of Burgesses was no more distinguished or pleasant than his first term. He served on the Committee of Claims and worked with Cabell on territorial divisions. His abrasive manner irritated both constituents and fellow legislators. On February 28, 1759, the following letter from Howard was leaked to the House:

The last Assembly agreed to give the Commissioners
for settling the Militia accounts and Damages done
by the Indians 40 per Day each; and that is the
Way the Assembly squanders the Country's Money.

The Privileges and Elections committee took a dim view of this assault on its honor and launched an investigation, but Howard apologized two days later before he could be officially reprimanded. On another occasion, the Amherst area settlers protested against his construction of a mill on the Rockfish River, since it would impede the movement of fish used to support the diet of many families. Howard was forced to back down again in 1760 and agree to pull down the mill or pay 1,000 pounds of tobacco to be used for the support of the poor. In the future, all mills near fisheries were ordered to be constructed with a sloping dam to allow for the passage of fish.⁹⁶

Until 1760 the war remained of prime concern in both Williamsburg and Old Amherst. In April 1758 the Second Virginia Regiment of 1,000 men was formed under Colonel William Byrd III and troops of the First Regiment were temporarily redeployed as rangers along the frontier. The soldiers' expenses were covered by yet more taxes. A fee of one shilling per tithe and two shillings per 100 acres was levied, to be in effect from 1761-1766. Each new recruit received a bounty of 10. A tax of two shillings per hogshead of tobacco was ordered in 1759 to finance the war against the Cherokees. The last taxes were appropriated in 1760, with the final impact of the French and Indian War felt as late as 1767 in Amherst County collections. In all, Virginia issued 339,962.10 in treasury notes to finance the war, a staggering sum and burden for the decentralized planter economy of Virginia.⁹⁷

Governor Dinwiddie's copy of the British declaration of war against France arrived in Scott's Landing in late summer 1756 and

was soon public knowledge throughout the county. The declaration was greeted by three volleys of small armsfire, wishing the king good health and the empire success in the war. The Amherst area settlers who had been engaged in frontier defense since 1754 reluctantly conceded that they still had a long struggle ahead. Most adult white males were subject to militia service except overseers of thirty or more slaves. The draft was supervised by a special court of magistrates and all of the county's militia officers. The draft could be avoided by payment of 10 or by hiring a substitute. Three companies of 98 Albemarle soldiers left for the north under captains James Nevil, Charles Ellis, and John Hunter. Nevil's and Ellis's troops were composed almost solely of Amherst area residents.

Cornelius Thomas, John Woods, and William Woods served as lieutenants with Jacob Brown and Thomas Cotterell as corporals, and Charles Tuly, ensign. The Powell, Stinett, Woods, Depriest, and Hughes families were heavily represented among the enlisted men. At least another eighteen Amherst residents fought in regular army units outside the county. Most of the latter served under Colonel Byrd in his 1760 Cherokee campaign. The rest marched with General Forbes, Colonel Steven, Colonel Washington, and General Braddock. James Higginbotham served as a captain, John Sale was appointed sergeant major, and Gabriel Penn, Linn Banks, and James Fitzgerald as sergeants in these various units. Burgess Cabell was elevated to the rank of militia colonel in 1760.⁹⁸

The hardship of service in the regular army was partly compensated by enticements of land bounties. Field officers were to receive 5,000 acres of western lands after the war, captains 3,000 acres, staff officers 2,000 acres, non-commissioned officers 200 acres, and privates only 50 acres. The militia did not have any land incentives, but were motivated to protect their families by preventing Indian raids from reaching Albemarle. Most of the Amherst area soldiers were in service against the Indians rather than the French. The Cherokees, who had been considered English allies, attacked both the Bedford and Augusta frontiers in 1758, and even penetrated Albemarle. In 1761 the county petitioned for compensation for horses stolen by the Cherokees. Colonel Cabell perhaps led some of the Albemarle militia into Augusta to repel these incursions. Also in 1758 Cabell made payments authorized by the colony to James Nevil, Charles Ellis, and Henry Key for provisions used in the Indian campaigns. Captain Ellis's company proceeded .

later to Fredericksburg and engaged the Shawnees to the west. Cabell was appointed commissioner to investigate the damages done by the Cherokees and Catawbias along the western frontier.⁹⁹

Other Amherst residents were sent to South Carolina under Colonel Byrd in 1760 to chase the Cherokees into their lair. The campaign was sluggish and desultory. Due to delays, the Albemarle men did not return home until after the creation of Amherst. The rest of the Amherst region's forces were employed against the French in the north. The French and their Indian allies had enjoyed the initial advantage but were gradually forced back under the brilliant policies of Prime Minister William Pitt and his generals. Frederick the Great of Prussia also provided invaluable services by tying up large numbers of French troops during the Seven Years' War. Lord Loudoun replaced General Abercromby and the Anglo-American war machine geared itself for decisive offensives in 1758. Washington's and Byrd's Virginians joined General Forbes at Fort Cumberland for an attack on Fort Duquesne, the key to the French position in the Midwest. The troops built a road to the fort, held by weakened French outposts. George Washington captured the installation on November 24, 1758. For the most part, the theater of war was removed from the western frontier of Virginia.¹⁰⁰

British successes in the north followed in quick succession. Louisburg and Fort Frontenac had been captured by the summer of 1758. By late fall 1759, Niagara, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga had capitulated. The backbone of French resistance was crushed with the seizure of Quebec. Montreal surrendered in September 1760. This not only effectively eliminated the French presence in North America but also signalled the end to all Anglo-American colonial wars, excepting limited engagements with the Indians and in the Caribbean. Most of the Virginia militia was ordered home after the fall of Fort Duquesne, including George Washington, who returned to a hero's welcome. Colonel Byrd kept some of the Virginia regulars in western Pennsylvania, but the rest were stationed in Augusta and Bedford. James Nevil's company was reimbursed some 300 by the Albemarle burgesses while Charles Ellis, Elizabeth Burks, Nicholas Davis, William Cabell, and others were compensated for supplies they had provided to the war effort.¹⁰¹

Domestic civil life in western Albemarle proceeded as before, even though the atmosphere was charged with war tension and horror stories of the refugees. The number of tithes in Albemarle had climbed to 1,344 whites and 1,747 blacks for 1757 for a total of

3,091. The overall population had become more affluent and more literate despite certain war deprivations. Some 57 percent of all inventories by 1761 listed books. Eastern Amherst continued to be vigorous and thrived around commercial centers near the Fluvanna and the Tye. Western Amherst was provided a commercial outlet at New London in Bedford County, planned by William Calloway in 1757.

The Old Amherst area had thriving artisan and professional communities scattered throughout the region, as well as concentrated in The Town of Rockfish and the Nassau Creek Tract. At least 31 craftsmen and professional men can be identified by 1761. These included shoemakers Guthridge Hughes and Lazarus Dameron, who sold double channel pumps for 12 shillings a pair; tailors John Bell, John Halley Burton, John Bryan, William Pearce, and Richard F. Gregory; wheelwright John Groves; steward Robert Johnson; miller Thomas Matlock; smiths John Hardwick and William Ward; tobacco shippers Goerge Martin and Thomas Bibb; carpenter Edmund Colls; joiner Robert Johnson; schoolmasters William Coursey, and Benjamin Snead; and dancing teacher Mr. Ingles. There were also various tinkers, nurses, weavers, tanners, haberdashers, miners, construction workers, attorneys, clerics, and doctors. Pedlars had become so common by 1761 that Albemarle unsuccessfully petitioned the General Assembly that all pedlars should be forced to quit their profession or be drafted into the army.¹⁰²

The greatest commercial emphasis still was placed on farming, and success to most meant a large tobacco plantation. A separate business class was forming among the overseers, indispensable for all large estates and particularly the absentee-controlled plantations. Capable managers were at a premium since the overseers were the basic foundation for achieving a prosperous market economy in the Old Amherst region. Besides the five overseers already referred to who worked for Robert Rose and the two employed in the Nassau Tract, the names of nine other overseers before 1761 have survived. These included John Cowley, who worked for Dr. Cabell in 1760, Thomas Jones, Joseph Philips for the Braxton quarter, John Blyzze for the Wilcox land, John Pucket in 1756, John Edwards in 1760, and John Moore and Martin Dawson for Peter Jefferson. Jefferson had died in 1757, removing any impediment to the command of the Cabells in the county and leaving another estate dominated by overseers until Thomas Jefferson came of age.¹⁰³

Jefferson's far-flung plantations had carried on extensive

commerce as distant as Bristol, England, through John Harmer's connections. Richmond and Williamsburg merchants also purchased goods from the estates. Jefferson exchanged goods and services with Harmer's estate, Daniel Burford, Thomas Powell, William Cabell, James Nevil, John Reid, William Megginson, and David Crawford from the Amherst area. Peter Shepherd rented property from Jefferson, and his wife made clothes for Jefferson's slaves. Various craftsmen worked on the Jefferson estate. Some 5 were paid for one smith's annual wage and Charles Lewis rented a slave carpenter. Jefferson's inventory revealed him to be both a wealthy and highly literate gentleman, since he left behind 60 slaves and 40 books.¹⁰⁴

The lawyer and friend of Robert Rose, John Harvie, served as Jefferson's executor from 1757. Originally from Scotland, Harvie had also joined Rose and Chiswell in the Buffalo Ridge copper operation. The mines probably still had as many as fifty workers as late as 1757. In 1760 extraction was proving overly expensive and both Chiswell and Harvie sold most of their interest in the faltering production to Speaker Robinson. Harvie was very wealthy and knowledgeable in his own right. At his death in 1767 he left a prosperous estate, a mansion with nine rooms, which was considered large for the Piedmont region at the time, and 189 books. His son John, who died in 1807, lived in modern Albemarle and owned Blemont, the Barracks which housed the British-Hessian prisoners in the Revolution, and Pen Park.¹⁰⁵

By 1761 the ranks of the first generation of settlers in Old Amherst had thinned considerably. Colonel John Henry, uncle of the orator Patrick Henry, had left Tye River and settled in Hanover. Some Burnleys moved to Bedford, where Zachariah became a burgess in 1758. Many others emigrated to newer frontiers, including lawyer Edmund Gray's relative, also named Edmund, whom Dr. Cabell described as "running away." William Horsley and his wife Mary Cabell both died in 1760. Captain Charles Ellis of French and Indian war fame also died in 1760, leaving his estate to his sons Charles and Josias. Daniel Burford and his fellow officer in the war, Cornelius Thomas, were named executors. Mr. Meriwether and Sheriff William Harris died about the same time. Cantankerous burgess Allen Howard passed away in 1761 as Amherst was being organized. Many of the original Albemarle justices had died or become enfeebled.¹⁰⁶

The aging Dr. Cabell and his son the colonel remained to guide western Albemarle into its formation as Amherst County. Dr. Cabell had developed his Swan Creek estate into a flourishing community

with stores, stockyards, granaries, and fisheries at Warminster, where carp, bass, and eels were caught. The doctor also constructed Variety Mills, which covered some fifty five square feet, and rose five stories high, supported by oak beams. The doctor continued to buy and sell limited tracts of land. In 1759 he acquired property on the Dutch Thoroughfare from Julian Neal and Anne Window Neal, widow of Nicholas Neal. He farmed the land, known as Messauges Tenement Tract, with a number of indentured servants and tenants. Various crops and stock were raised, including corn at ten shillings per barrel, dressed prok at twenty shillings per 100 pounds, beef at one penny per pound, and meadows of timothy hay, along with the usual Devereaux Gerrard, alias Jarratt, rented some land from Dr. Cabell on Watt's Creek between 1758 and 1760, and farmed it with two slaves.¹⁰⁷

Dr. Cabell also hired contract servants, but good help seemed hard to find. In December 1756, eh entered into an agreement with John Cowley. The doctor described his quick dissatisfaction as follows:

He lay abed until morning till near sun up; then sits by the fire about two or three hours, then comes out, stretches himself, and asked where the negroes and tobacco was. I told him in the tobacco house, etc. He caught his horse and went off without leave.

The following year Dr. Cabell's patience with employees ended in a violent explosion and he whipped one James Spears. Spears complained and Cabell was convicted of assault and battery. The doctor was forced to pay 1,045 pounds of tobacco and eleven shillings as punishment. After such episodes, coupled with the advance of age, the grizzled planter turned over most of his responsibilities to Colonel William and retired to his study for contemplation of the world around him. He recorded at 9:30 on March 22, 1758, a violent earthquake. This thoroughly alarmed his slaves, who insisted that "the ground was sick."¹⁰⁸

Jarratt was probably the well-known Methodist evangelist who lived in Albemarle in the 1750s. He taught school at Jacob Moon's, Hicolas Davies's, and Abraham Childr's. Jarratt was influenced by Goerge Whitfield's sermons and left for the east. The Reverend Samuel Davies *1727-1761) was most instrumental in spreading the evangelical faith through Piedmont Virginia. He left the colony in 1755, but established the Hanover Presbytery in that year. He left the colony in 1755, but established the Hanover Presbytery in that year. He later became president the college of New Jersey, later

(PrincetonUniversity) in 1759. The Presbyterians were also strengthened by the end of their schism in 1758 between the orthodox and New Light factions. The Baptists had organized the Ketocin Association in 1756 and the Sandy Creek Association in 1760. The Quaker meetings in Goose Creek of Bedford were reorganized in 1760. Dissenters in general had obtained new respectability as a result of their participation in the French and Indian War. The established church had fallen on hard times in Old Amherst after 1751 with Rose's unpopular successors William Hall (1752-1754) and John Ramsey (1754-1758). The parish vestry of St. Anne's was dissolved in 1759 for not being legally elected. Jarratt was at least symbolically correct when he wrote in 1752 of the decline of organized religion in Albemarle; "there was no minister of any persuasion; or any public worship within many miles."¹⁰⁹

Colonel William Cabell filled his father's place in the Amherst region with alacrity. He began to build up a solid reputation throughout the colony by hard work in the House of Burgesses. Compensation for his legislative services often varied, but at one point the figure of 28 was cited. Much of this covered travel expenses, but it was still almost six times what Peter Jefferson's smith made in one year. On October 30, 1760, Cabell, along with George Washington and others, subscribed to a petition that called for financial incentives to growers of wine and silk. The General Assembly in 1759 had already passed a bill to encourage arts and manufactures, but the lure of dispersed plantation estates and tobacco farming was too strong for this type of exhortation to make much headway in gentry consciousness. A second Two Penny Act was passed in 1758 to relieve economic distress. The Anglican ministers protested this measure as cutting into their salaries, criticism which further antagonized Virginians against the Established Church. Other economic relief measures included the revision of the tobacco law and the repeal of the 10 percent duty on slaves in 1760.¹¹⁰

Albemarle's political clout in the House of Burgesses had slowly increased, but a growing sense of disunity prevented any one spokesman from truly representing the entire region. The Tidewater planters resisted any effort by the west to gain equal power until that region had imbibed their same cultural sentiments and life styles. Even as Albemarle was being split up to give the western planters more representation, another effort to move the capital further west was defeated by one vote.

Albemarle had become increasingly unwidely as a political unit from the time of Robert Rose's death, Petitions requesting partition flooded into the House of Burgesses in the 1750's. After Cumberland and Bedford gained separate governments, the drive for an independent status for western Albemarle began in earnest in 1757. St. Anne's Parish was divided that year, creating Tilotson Parish. The Amherst region and present Albemarle supplied the area of most of the reorganized St. Anne's pastorate. Colonel William Cabell continued the efforts for separation begun by his father. Representing virtually the unanimous sentiment of farmers, planters, and merchants in western Albemarle, Cabell persuaded the Propositions and Grievances Committee on March 26, 1761, to recommend the formation of two new counties and parishes in Albemarle. On April 3, the House passed its final version of the bill and on April 7 Cabell carried the measure to the Council for their approval. This was quickly forthcoming. The bill creating Amherst County was signed into law on April 10 as the twentieth measure enacted in that session.¹¹¹

The seven and final session of the General Assembly elected in 1758 also came to a close on April 10. Colonel William Cabell and the residents of Amherst had every reason to be satisfied with the progress of events. The threat of the French and Indians had been ended, the colony's economy was improving, and a new monarch, George III had been crowned in 1760. Most important, the Amherst planters had a new, more responsive territorial unit to govern free from extraneous regions. Civil and political harmony seemed to reign supreme. Governor Fauquier echoed these happy feelings in a speech unthinkable shortly thereafter:

I consider you as my friends...I (thank you)...for the Readiness and Alacrity with which you have engaged in the Measures recommended by you to assist his Majesty's Arms, in the Recovery of that Country which the French had usurped; and on my own Part I can with Truth assure you that the many Marks of Affection and Respect you have shown me, the Confidence you have placed in me, and the strong Proofs you have given me of your approbation of my Conduct, has made an Impression on my Mind which nothing can efface...For I can never expect...to meet with an Assembly composed of Gentlemen more acceptable

to myself; who have happily found the Means of joining your Duty to his Majesty to your Care for the Interests of the Colony, which can never be separated but to the disadvantage of both¹¹²

CHAPTER VI
THE STRUGGLE FOR HOME RULE;
CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTIONARIES IN AMHERST, 1761-1775

"The patriots' revolution came and went; the continuities in the life that ebbed and flowed about the courthouse were very great." ----Rhys Issac (1)

"Virginians were conservative revolutionists in that they revolted to preserve what they had." ----Carl Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire, p. 77.

At the moment of imperial triumph the seed of an irrepressible conflict was planted. The British government and the colonies drew opposing conclusions from the lessons of the late war. Disagreements over principles and finances led to successive crises. The French and Indian War had secured the fame of two pre-Revolutionary Amherst County symbols, Lord Amherst and Cornelius Thomas. The accomplishments of both were quickly to fade as the county girded itself for resistance to Great Britain. The skilled navigators of the epoch for the county were Colonel William Cabell at the helm and three men not resident in, but closely involved with Amherst: Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and Carter Braxton. The Amherst planter gentry remained firmly in control of society through the upheaval. Yet, they found themselves in the paradoxical position of supporting revolution to maintain the status quo ante of a frontier society that had all but evaporated by 1776.

JEFFREY LORD AMHERST; THE MIXED PROGRESS OF A SYMBOL,
1717-1797

In 1760, the western Piedmont gentry named their fledgling county-to-be for the heroic conqueror of Canada, and thereby sought to invest the new territorial unit with the ascent glory of Jeffrey Lord Amherst. The patronym "Amherst" represented the gentry's public covenant with the county's people., By the hoped-for thaumaturgic powers in its very name, the county seemed to hold up the promise of a strong and self-reliant entity that would reflect the grandeur of His majesty's empire at its zenith. Amherst was born into an English gentry family of County Kent who determined that their child should have a military career. They arranged

for him while a child to be a page to the Duke of Dorset. At the age of fourteen, Amherst was attached to the first Regiment of guards in London as an ensign. He rose steadily through the ranks of the army and was commissioned lieutenant in 1738. In 1741 Amherst was sent overseas to Flanders, where he served as an aide-de-camp to General John Ligonier in the War of Austrian Succession. Two other counties near Amherst received their names from participants in the war: the commanding officer, the Duke of Cumberland, and the future earl of Albemarle, who became a good friend of Amherst. By the end of 1745 Amherst was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1747, he had the honor to serve as a personal aide to the Duke of Cumberland. By 1756 he commanded his own regiment, with the rank of colonel.²

Amherst distinguished himself in the early stages of the Seven Years' War. He soon caught the eye of Prime Minister William Pitt, who had an almost unerring ability to discern genius among his commanders. Accordingly, in March 1758 Amherst found himself rocketed to the post of major general. He was transferred to the American theater, where he was placed in charge of the siege of Louisbourg, a strongly held fortress on Cape Breton Island of what is now the province of Nova Scotia. Louisbourg was regarded as the key to the French presence in Canada. It was widely believed that if Louisbourg could be reduced the entire French empire would immediately unravel. Brilliantly combining artillery bombardments and troop maneuvers, Amherst cleanly picked Louisbourg on July 27, 1758.³

The conquest of Louisbourg, however, did not send the French into precipitous collapse, and the British themselves encountered morale and logistical problems. The commander-in-chief of British troops in America, James Abercrombie, was cashiered and Amherst was appointed his successor. Amherst gradually re-shaped his forces into a deadly rapier that the French were able to blunt only periodically. Crown Point and Ticonderoga fell before the juggernaut in 1759, and the British marched against Quebec in 1760. General James Wolfe commanded the actual assault, losing his life, while Amherst skillfully masterminded the entire operation. As Amherst prepared to invest the remaining French bastion of Montreal, he received the surprising news that he had been appointed titular Governor of Virginia on March 4, 1760.⁵⁴

Unlike any former or subsequent holders of the post, Amherst was genuinely shocked and distressed to find he had received that appointment.

He was interested in returning posthaste to England. Amherst had no desire to be tied down by the responsibilities of civil government, no matter how lucrative the reward. A friend assured him that "being governor of Virginia need not contain you in America an hour after peace sets you at liberty." This was small solace since military combat dragged on for several years. The campaigns were of a tedious and desultory nature once the last large scale operations ended with the subjugation of Montreal in 1761. Amherst ordered Virginia troops, including some from the future Amherst County, to march against the South Carolina Cherokees in 1760. Most of the organized fighting moved south to the Caribbean. General Moncton attacked Martinique in 1761 and another expedition assaulted Havana in 1762. Hardly had the Treaty of Paris been ratified in 1763, ending the European war, when Amherst was forced to send an expeditionary force into the Old Northwest to crush Pontiac's Rebellion.⁶⁵

Despite his distaste for civil affairs, Amherst proved to be a capable administrator. The general forbade any abuse of the prostrate French and promoted the preservation of French society as it had existed before the war. Amherst conciliated the French too well for later Anglo-American tastes. His measures became the basis for the Quebec Act of 1774, widely despised throughout the colonies for its territorial restrictions and toleration of Catholics. Amherst instilled the beginnings of French Canadian loyalty to the British Empire which did not collapse even during the American Revolution. In these early years Amherst remained popular with the Anglo-American colonists, even though he constructed a unified military command and laid the groundwork for the later British decision to tax America for support of these military outlays.⁶⁶

Amherst was finally given permission to return to England and he permanently left America on November 10, 1763. Amherst was appointed knight in recognition of his services. After this ceremony, excepting some honorific morsels, his fortunes dropped precipitously for more than ten years. This period also paralleled the collapse of the British American policy. Amherst's patron Pitt was replaced by Lord Bute in 1761. The general found himself involuntarily enmeshed in various struggles with the Crown and the parliamentary opposition, the old commercial families, the nouveau riche, and the liberals. The hero's homecoming was snubbed by George III, who was jealous of his most famous commander. Amherst discovered the royal court deaf to his proposals and unappreciative of his activities. Amherst himself had not interest in parliamentary intrigue or

political offices. As a result, he soon found himself bereft of power. After Lieutenant Governor Faquier's death, Amherst was urged by the Crown to move to Virginia to assume his governorship in residence. Not wanting any return to colonial climes, Amherst refused, and an irritated George III stripped him of his post altogether, replacing him with the resident governor Baron de Boutetourt in 1768. Having lost both the honor of the post and 1,500 guineas a year, Amherst was infuriated. Sir Jeffrey resigned all of his commands and returned to this Kentish estate of "Montreal." ⁷

Popular reaction against his resignation convinced Amherst to return to military service. His official influence was still limited as the conflict with America mushroomed. He outraged the planters in Virginia by supporting the Stamp Act, but opposed many of the narrow-minded imperial proposals to bring the colonies to heel. When the Americans resorted to arms in 1775, Amherst supported a quick and efficient suppression of the rebellion. After the British failed to exploit the seizure of New York and Philadelphia and Burgoyne blundered at Saratoga, the general changed his mind. He now opposed continued involvement in the quagmire of a land war as futile. Amherst's proposed alternative was to blockade the recalcitrant colonies and starve them into submission. As this plan was curtly rejected, Amherst refused offers made through 1778 to command British armies in the field against the rebels. As a result, the greatest British general between Marlborough and Wellington witnessed the dismantling of the British Empire from the sidelines. Active or not, Amherst had been transformed from a colonial hero to another instrument employed in Britain's clumsy efforts to bludgeon Amherst County and her sister societies into submission.⁸

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF AMHERST COUNTY TO 1775

"Younger men in the upcountry had no memory...of the idyllic era of 'life in thrall' under the benevolent administration of Major Gooch during Walpole's live-and-let-live ministry." Clifford Dowdey, The Golden Age, p. 255.

While Jeffrey Amherst concluded his Canadian campaigns and denounced Indian skullduggery, Amherst County was created by Act of the Virginia General Assembly. The first county court met on May 1, 1761,

two months after the authorizing legislation became effective. With its almost one thousand square miles, Amherst was one of the largest territorial units east of the Blue Ridge. The county touched Augusta to the west and north across the Blue Ridge, Bedford to the south and west across the Fluvanna, and Buckingham to the southwest, also across the Fluvanna. No easily identifiable natural barrier separated Amherst from its parent county of Albemarle to the east. Colonel William Cabell surveyed the boundary line which ran from the confluence of the Rockfish with the Fluvanna up the Rockfish to the mouth of Green Creek. From that point, a straight line was marked off the Thomas Bell's property in the Blue Ridge. Amherst Parish was created with boundaries coterminous with that of the county and was given twelve vestry officers.

The Amherst court was ordered to convene every month on the first Monday. Pending litigation and taxes were assigned to Albemarle and St. Anne's Parish. St. Anne's glebe was ordered sold with the profits proportionately distributed by population among Albemarle, Buckingham, and Amherst. Further provisions of the law required Allen Howard to dismantle his Rockfish mill and allowed a 30 percent rebate to the county on all official taxes and fees. The original justices included Colonel William Cabell, Cornelius Thomas, John Rose, John Reid, James Nevil, Daniel Burford, George Stovall, Jr., David Crawford, Jr., John Howard, Francis Meriwether, James Dillard, and Ambrose Lee. Cabell took the first oath of office and was appointed county lieutenant. Militia officers included John Rose as colonel, John Reid as lieutenant colonel, James Nevil as major, and Cornelius Thomas, James Higginbotham, Henry Key, Alexander Reid, John Loving, and Francis Meriwether as captains. George Seaton, John Reid, John Harvie, and Ichabod Camp were appointed county clerk, sheriff, king's attorney, and parish minister, respectively.¹⁰

The justices first convened at Henry Key's Ordinary in present-day Arrington. They decided that the most central location for a permanent courthouse was by the main county thoroughfare on Lunsford Lomax's land in the Nassau Tract. This site, some 12 miles above Jacob Brown's house, in the area later called Cabellsville and then renamed Colleen, was one or two miles from the exact center of the county, but was somewhat more accessible from the south and west than the northeast approaches.¹¹ The Council approved the location on June 29, and specified that the county pay for the construction. The Council ratified the architectural plans on November 6, 1761, and the courthouse, probably a frame building, was

completed by March 1, 1762.¹² Some 254 acres were purchased from Carter Braxton and Aaron Higginbotham for the parish glebe by the end of 1762. Braxton ceded his land for the nominal sum of £5 and Higginbotham was reimbursed £120. The glebe was constructed probably by 1765 on his land lying between present Amherst Court House and Clifford, near Higginbotham's Old Mill Creek of the Buffalo River. The boundaries of the county remained virtually unchanged through its unified existence except that some islands in the Fluvanna were awarded to Amherst in 1769.¹⁴

By 1776, commerce, transportation and population patterns provided Amherst with the basic social topography characteristic of the area throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. At least five new ferries were authorized in the late colonial period including those of Joseph Cabell, Davis' near Ambrose Rucker (1760s), Cornelius Thomas over the Fluvanna to Bedford (1765-1772), and Henry Trent to the Bedford line over the Fluvanna (1775). In addition, Amherst residents successfully petitioned in conjunction with those of Buckingham and Albemarle for a ferry in Albemarle from Benjamin Howard's land to Neill Campbell's estate in 1769. With the general improvement of transportation and the development of settlement, however, ferry traffic fell into disfavor. Far fewer ferries were authorized than in the Albemarle period and several, including those of William Cabell and Cornelius Thomas, were discontinued for lack of business. The ferries were also undermined by improved navigation and commerce on the Fluvanna, leading to greater involvement with eastern markets. About 1771, the time of the great flood (or freshet, as the colonists called it), county residents Ambrose Rucker and Anthony Rucker (1740-1821) devised a substantial modification of Robert Rose' dugout canoes that led to the bateaux boat system. This greatly expanded hogshead cargo space and further integrated Amherst into the market economy of Tidewater Virginia and Europe.¹⁵

If ferry usage declined, road construction proceeded dramatically. At least twenty-one roads were built or substantially extended between 1761 and the end of 1775. Some of the more important arteries included routes from Rockfish Gap to Augusta in 1764, John Cabell's ferry road to Fendley's Gap, Stovall's road to Lynch's Ferry by 1767, Cornelius Thomas's road via Indian Grave Gap to the Pedlar river in the 1770s, and the Glebe Road to Rucker's Run Church by 1774. (16)

As the county became more accessible, additional ordinaries, mills, warehouses, and towns arose to meet the increased commercial demands. Prosperous tobacco farmers generally constructed their own warehouses.

At least two new storage facilities serviced the general public: Bowman's, on Cabell property near the Fluvanna across from Buckingham, and Megginsons's which was erected before 1774 near Buffalo Ridge.

Some seventeen grist mills for grain were established in these fifteen years. These included the Pounding Mill on the Tye River before 1768; Cornelius Thomas's in the early 1760s; Zacharias Taliaferro's on the Tye River in 1766; Charles Tallifero on Horsley's Creek in 1767; Carter Braxton's on the Buffalo River in 1766; Edward Carter's at the head of Puppies' Creek in the early 1760s; and Neill Campbell's on the north fork of the Pedlar in 1767. Also constructing grain mills were Joseph Ballinger on Beaver Creek in 1767; Thomas Bell near the Great Bend of the Fluvanna in 1767; Christopher Lynch on Harris Creek in 1767; Edward Tinsley; George Penn on the Buffalo River in the early 1760s; Lindsay Coleman near Charles Ellis's plantation in 1774; and, in 1775, James Bell on the Rockfish, James Pamplin on Elk Island Creek, Francis Wetherd on Beaver Branch, and Nicholas Cabell on Gilbert's Creek. The increased commerce was also revealed by ten new ordinaries which virtually tripled the existing establishments. The proprietors of these included Samuel Woods, license granted in 1767; Gabriel Penn on his own property in 1767; John Loving and Thomas Merritt in 1767; Henry Barnes, Philip Payton, and and Battaile Harrison in 1768; Carnabee Veal in 1769; and Joseph Megann, who maintained an establishment on Daniel Gaines's land. By 1774, William Garland had taken over this latter tavern. Richard Allcock set up shop at the courthouse before 1772 and transferred his interest to William Pollard in 1774.

While the number of religious communicants also grew, only two new church structures were erected. Mirroring the advance of evangelical fervor, these were both Baptist. Ebenezer Church was organized in 1771 and Buffalo Church was established in 1772. The Presbyterians continued to hold their own while the Anglicans dropped off precipitously with the coming of the Revolution.

The secular communities became slightly more clustered as Dutch Creek and the Town at Rockfish expanded. The new settlement of Bethel, near present Madison Heights, was laid out in 1775. The courthouse area, formerly covered by orchards, enjoyed an expected boom because of legal, commercial, and political transactions. Most Amherst farmers became intimately familiar with Shockoe's and Byrd's tobacco inspection stations in Richmond, as well as the nascent community of New London in Bedford.

The Tidewater gentry continued to resist economic decentralization by specifically denying inspection stations to New London. The Piedmont was forced to rely totally on eastern entrepôts. Even without his handicap, urban concentration was unlikely to have materialized in the county considering the diffused plantation society of Amherst.

A number of new place names are recorded for the late colonial period. Some new areas were patented near the Blue Ridge, as choice alluvial farm land became unavailable. Some of the more colorful of these sites included Indian Will's Mountain near the Rose property, Irish Creek near modern Rockbridge County, Mony Run of the Tye. Almost all of the new patented land was acquired by 1766. In the span of the six years following the county's inception, at least 174 patents were issued covering more than 28,000 acres for an average of 161 acres per grant. Only six grants for more than 400 acres were issued, with the largest, some 3,980 acres, awarded to John Drummond and Thomas Doswell on the head waters of the Tye. The largest number of new patents were issued on the Buffalo River, including those to the Higginbothams and Nathaniel Woodroof.¹⁸

Some eleven grants were certified on the Tye River during this time. The largest included those of Henry Key with 966 acres near Harmer's and King's lines, and Zacharias Taliaferro with 411 acres near John Rose and Nicholas Cabell. Some fifteen grants were issued on Rucker's Run including the estates of Henry Key, John Edmonds, John Loving, Jr., Isham Davies, William Hansbrough, William Loving, William Bibb, and Absalom Smith. Large new patents on the Rockfish included those of Thomas Becknell and Henry McClinnen. Nicholas Pryor, Charles Tuly, Joseph Higginbotham, James Smith, Robert Johnston, and Josias Ellis were the most prominent of 26 new grantees on the Pedlar River. Smaller grants were made on the tributary streams, including Dutch Creek. Robert Wright, William Wright, John Loving and John Key received land on Davis Creek. Ambrose Rucker, George McDaniel, and Richard Peters patented tracts on Harris Creek. Thomas Powell, Richard Elliot, and Benjamin Higginbotham received titles on Horsely's Creek. In the Blue Ridge above the Rockfish, John McCue, Alexander Patten, David Kincaid, William Simson, and Michael Craft quarrelled over boundary lines.¹⁹

The population of Old Amherst experienced steady growth until the 1770s when western and souther migration began to siphon away both potential settlers and county residents. The division of Albemarle in 1761 had left the three successor counties with roughly equivalent population,

Amherst containing an estimated 550 white tithes. This number increased to 650 in 1763 and probably to 800 by 1765. Perhaps as many as 700 immigrants arrived in Amherst between 1761 and 1775. Courthouse records, genealogical accounts, and Revolutionary War pension records cite the previous residence of many of these immigrants. At least seven left homes outside Virginia. Five landowners originated in Maryland: Edmund Bowling (b. 1744), William Camm (b. 1757); John Fleming, William Loveday (who bought land from Lunsford Lomax in Purgatory Swamp in 1769), and John Cartwright, (who between 1768 and 1770 bought land from Ambrose Jones north of the Tye and north of the Piney). Thomas Brown (1750-1801) and Thomas S. McClelland arrived from Pennsylvania.²⁰

Most of the new settlers came from families originating in Somerset and Wiltshire, England, and had lived in Goochland and Albemarle, but quite a few hailed from other Virginia counties. Besides the influx from Albemarle, landowners from adjacent counties included Benjamin Arnold, William Giles, and James Pamplin, Joseph Cabell's overseer from Buckingham. Bedford proprietors included Robert Cardwell (b. 1747), the merchant John Ross, and the lawyer John Wayles, who resided in the latter county. Landowners from Augusta were William Smith (b 1763), John Patrick and the Madison kinsmen, Thomas and John. The largest number of traceable immigrants and landowners had been established in the upper Tidewater and the Northern Neck. From Caroline, there were Richard Fulcher, William Penn (1745-1777), Hezekiah Hargrove (b. 1748), William Hartless (1754-1836), Anthony Campbell, John Scott, Richard Allcock (d. 1820), James Stevens (d. 1796), and George Purvis (1757-1838). Purvis bought land from Lunsford Lomax on Loving's Creek. It is reasonable to assume that most of the other Caroline proprietors followed the lead of the landed magnate, Lunsford Lomax. John Upshaw (1755-1834), Frederick Padgett (b. 1753), and Mordecai Brown arrived from Essex. Samuel Ayres of Essex was an absentee landlord. Moses Waters (b. 1761), John Grizzage Frazier, and Edmund Wilcox hailed from King William Benjamin Mays (b.1757) and John Royalty (1759-1844) emigrated from Stafford. Augustine Smith (1752-1835) and James Luttrell (b. 1755) arrived from Westmoreland. From Charles City, Northumberland, and King and Queen came Richard Crittenden (1761-1841), Richard Bean (b. 1749), and Thomas Wyatt, respectively.²¹

Emigrants from the Southside and the lower Tidewater originated in at least five counties. These included David Patterson, Josiah Giles (1756-

1837), and Bransford West (1754-1843), an apprentice to Dr. Cabell, from Chesterfield; John Pugh (b. 1762) and the Lignons from Amelia; the LeGrands from Prince Edward; Richard Jones, Josiah Jones (b. 1752), and the absentee owner John Stewart, who purchased property on Rutledge Creek near Lynch's Road, from Cumberland. The Huguenot William Witt (d. 1784) and David Witt (1750-1818) moved from Pittsylvania. The Valley was represented by John Alford, Jr. (b. 1760) from Frederick. Settlers arrived from at least five counties in the central and northern Piedmont. Most came from Hanover and Henrico. Proprietors from Hanover included the Fontaines, Nathaniel Guthrie, John Digges, Thomas Goodwin (b. 1765), and the absentee holders Henry Gilbert, (d. 1778), Samuel Meredith, the Garlands (who also owned land in Lunenburg and Buckingham), and William Parks Shelton (who also owned land in King and Queen and Fluvanna). Landowners from Henrico were John Clarke, Zedekiah Schumaker (b. 1754), Perrin Giles (1715-1788), who also managed a tract in Buckingham, and the merchant Neill Campbell. Three settlers hailed from Culpeper, namely John Gatewood (1761-1802), William Banks (1761-1839), and James Pollard (1762-1840). James Hamilton (1757-1844) arrived from Orange in 1773. The Ambrose Powell family migrated from Loudoun.²²

Emigrants of undetermined locales included William Fleming, a churchwarden in 1768; Thomas Fortune (d. 1804), who lived on Davis Creek and Wills Cove; William Godsgrove; Zelus Milstead; John and Samuel Poe; William Lyons (d. 1811); Littleburg and Lindsay Coleman; Azariah Martin; Joseph Mays; Thomas Burrus; Thomas Pannell; Philip and Valentine Peyton; Joe Ponton; James Kidd (b. 1765); Samuel Shelton (d. 1793); Thomas Jones (1755-1838) of Jonesboro; Francis Satterwhite; Abraham Warwick; Abraham Seay, Jr.; Thomas Waugh; Henry Campbell (b. 1764); John Whitehead; Austin Knight (d. 1817); Jesse Cartwright (1752-1832); Martha Freylinghausen of Dutch Creek; and Charles Yancey. Obviously many of these were children brought in by their fathers. There were also a few Indians and undoubtedly some freed slaves settled in the area.²³

Given the uncertainty of the times and the lure of profits, many other proprietors began to liquidate their holdings or removed to other regions during this period. Leading magnates such as William Cabell, Carter Braxton, Edward Carter, Philip Grymes, Lunsford Lomax, John Chiswell, John Robinson, Edward Bolling and Thomas Jefferson sold large tracts of land to many of these immigrants who could not obtain original land grants. By 1776 many of the non-resident Tidewater gentry had severed

their Amherst connections. Following the deaths of Grymes, Chiswell, and Robinson, the Cabells served as trustees for their estates and sold the land through public auction. The Bollings sold most of their Amherst land as the original patrimony dwindled and the need for cash reserves became more pressing. Neither Edward Bolling of Chesterfield or his brother Archibald of Buckingham found any need for their Amherst land. Among the many buyers of Speaker Robinson's land were Joseph Montgomery who purchased a tract near William Harris, the Sheltons, and the Cabells. John Ryan also bought land that had passed from Chiswell to Robinson.²⁴

The chain of title often became hard to follow as property rapidly changed hands. For example, Walter King and Thomas Mann Randolph transferred 6,000 acres to Lunsford Lomax, Sr., in 1764. James Stevens, a good friend of the Cabells and an in-law of the Penns. purchased more than 2,000 acres of this tract on Lomax Creek and Rucker's Run. In 1774 William Loving bought 216 acres of the property near the courthouse road. Thus in the span of ten years, some of the same land change ownership five times. Mercantile companies acquired some tracts. Robert Johnston in 1772 sold 404 acres near the Fluvanna, Otter Creek, and the land of Cornelius Thomas to Speirs & Bowman. Perhaps the most typical land transaction involved less than 500 acres. An example would be William Floyd's cession of 300 acres on the south side of the Pedlar near Incharnted mountain to Charles Tuly. Poorer families often had difficulty paying for deeded land. Such as the case when Julina Neal bought 140 acres of the Messaues Tenement Tract from William Cabell. Neal could not produce the £22 pounds by the allotted time and Cabell was forced to enter a caveat. Much land, as might be expected, was simply transferred from father to son. Dr. Cabell, for example, deeded more than 2,500 acres in 1763 to his sons William and John near Woods' Island and Swift Island of the Fluvanna. By 1776, enduring patterns of settlement, transportation, commerce, politics, and social structure had been established.²⁵

AUTONOMY AND ENTANGLEMENT IN AMHERST, 1761-1765

"What Washington was on the banks of the Potomac, [Col. William] Cabell was on the banks of the upper James. ---Hugh Blair Grigsby, The Virginia Convention of 1776, p. 115.²⁶

Along with British edicts and exactions, the overriding local concerns in

he years up to 1765 were courthouse construction, dealing with the problems resulting from the Albemarle separation, administering the new parish, and adjusting to peace. Samuel Murphy was designated builder for the new courthouse and reimbursed £160 for his labor. Taxes remained moderate, with the levy ranging from 41 to 49 pounds of tobacco per poll. Quitrents were 2s.6d per 100 acres the tax on citizens amounted to 4 shillings per poll, and the government extracted two shillings per 100 acres of land. Wheeled vehicles were taxed at the rate of five shillings. The tax rate was lowest in 1761 and gradually rose three time in value by 1765. For those debtors unable to meet personal or public expenses, ten acres were set aside in 1763 for a workhouse. The control of slaves was a perennial problem. Both Michael Thomas and Thomas Fitzpatrick were reimbursed for apprehending two runaway slaves. Many citizens came to regard the monthly courts as too expensive and time consuming. They petitioned the General Assembly for quarterly courts instead.²⁷

Relations with Albemarle were generally strained in these early years. The parent county was ordered by the General Assembly to credit Amherst for its share of the 1761 levy. Another law in 1762 commanded Albemarle to reimburse Amherst its share of the 175_? official weights and measures. In March of the same year Cornelius Thomas and William Cabell, as burgesses and church wardens, complained that the churchwardens of St. Anne's Parish had conspired to depreciate the value of their glebe in order to deprive Amherst of its rightful share of the sale proceeds. In August the Amherst churchwardens were discharged because of the conflict with their other official duties. Eventually the new parish was effectively organized when William Cheeke became clerk in 1765. All births were recorded for official colonial statistics, with the registration fee costing three pounds of tobacco per person. Unfortunately, both the early courthouse minutes and parish records have been lost.²⁸

The wills and inventories of sixteen Amherst residents are recorded through 1765. Some of these citizens were relatively impoverished, with personal property valued at less than £50. William Suddarth ranked at the bottom with a total of nine shillings to his name. Benjamin Ward was hardly better off with less then £5, including a striped Holland jacket along with some old Dutch blankets. James Morison, John Edwards and James Ison farmed their land but owned no slaves. Four residents had property valued between £50 and £100. Thomas Cottrell owned books and 700 acres of land, but employed only one slave. John Ray, James McWhorter, and John Berresford were middling farmers, yet owned no slaves.²⁹

Only 36 percent of the testators in these years were actually affluent. John Goff and John Lyon had three-fourths of their wealth invested in slaves. Thomas Jamison's assets were mostly in uncollected debts. Of the sixteen, only Goff, Lyon, and John Reid expressed any strong religious sentiments. David Crawford, Sr., father of Justice Crawford, was the wealthiest. He owned sixteen slaves for an average of one slave for every nineteen acres. He was worth more than £1200.³⁰ This sample of wills mirrored typical frontier society fairly well with its differentials in wealth.

At the top of the political and economic social structure were the thirteen justices of the peace appointed by 1765. The justices had great powers that are almost inconceivable. As an assembled county court, they had judicial, legislative, and executive powers that were only slightly restrained by the General Assembly. They sat as judges in both common law, and equity, passing judgment on all non-capital offenses and debt cases, (within defined limits) as well as settling accounts, regulating estates, commerce, transportation, and wills. They were responsible for military defense and assumed almost dictatorial power in times of emergency. This collective control was counter-balanced by a near-feudal de-centralization on the local level. The county was divided into six districts with two justices representing each precinct. Since the justices were a closed, self-perpetuating corporation, the average citizen had no redress except in clear cases of illegality. In practice, the justices were usually fair-minded, treating their neighbors paternally, and generally representing their interests. Although the justices were of different political persuasions and represented different social interests, they dealt for the most part harmoniously with one another. All shared the same concern for stability, class solidarity, and economic progress.

The justices of this earliest period can be divided into four groups, including the Cabell-Rose-Taliaferro, Thomas-Nevil, Crawford-Meriwether-Burford, and Stovall-Dillard-Reid-Lee-Howard factions. The last group of five represented the least enduring, most peripheral of the county hierarchy. Reid and Lee died before 1765, while the strength of the other three families was diluted by emigration.

John Reid held his offices for only two years before his death in 1763. He lived on the upper Rockfish near the Woodses and Crawfords. Reid was probably the most effective advocate in the county for the Scotch-Irish settlers from the Valley, with whom he lived for more than twenty years. The family owned roughly 1,000 acres, but were not involved socially or

economically in any form of sophisticated plantation operation. Reid had been sheriff of Albemarle in 1757, and lieutenant colonel of the militia at his death. Many of his children and cousins emigrated to Augusta County and Kentucky. Other relatives entered commercial professions, such as Thomas Reid. John's son Alexander continued to play an important role in county politics through the colonial period.³¹

Ambrose Lee, son of William, was the second justice to die. He represented one of the outlying county constituencies, owning some 1,170 acres on the north side of the Buffalo River at "Poplar Thicket." Hailing from Amelia, he was a good friend of Colonel Cabell and was closely associated with the Garland and Penn families, both influential in later county politics. He married Frances Penn (b. 1735) and had seven children, including George, Richard, and Frank. In his will, he bequeathed personal property worth £700.3.3. including 15 slaves valued at £455 and a stallion named Bolmor. No books are recorded in the justice's estate. Beside that bequeathed to his children, Lee left property to the Penns and Cabells. His son George married Elizabeth Shelton, and his daughter Mary was wedded to a Tucker, and Susanna married Richard Harrison. His grandson Shelton emigrated to Kentucky in 1792. Ambrose's wife remarried Drury Tucker, originally from Prince George, and following his death, moved to the southwest region of the colony with her brother Abram.³²

John Howard (d. 1806?), son of Albemarle justice Allen Howard, only briefly represented the southeastern corner of Amherst before removing to Buckingham. He owned land at Howardsville, the adjoining Buckingham territory, and several islands in the Fluvanna. By the time of the Revolution, he had disposed of most of his Amherst land, which amounted to several thousand acres, by lottery and direct transfer, but retained the "Pond Field" of 1,000 acres. He was dropped from the list of justices in 1764. His relative William Howard (d. 1794) owned land in Amherst as well as Albemarle, Buckingham, and Cumberland. His wife Jean inherited the Amherst property after his death. George Stovall, Jr. (b. 1782), lived at Stovall's Creek near present day Lynchburg on 1,600 acres. This property was purchased in part from the Carrington, Bolling, and Fry families. In 1767 he served as sheriff of Amherst. His sister Ruth married Abram Penn and other members of his family inter-married with the Bollings and Pleasants. During the Revolution, he emigrated to Campbell County, where he died.

James Dillard (1727-1794), son of James (d. 1768), was from James City County. He lived in the area of Harris Creek and Tye River near the glebe road to the Fluvanna. Dillard owned close to 1,000 acres on Buffalo Island, Porridge Creek, and its Cutsks branch adjacent to James Christian, Joseph Mayo, Edward Cottrell, and Richard Peters. He also owned land in Buckingham and Hanover. Dillard served in the French and Indian War and remained politically active through the colonial period. He married Mary Hunt of Essex. His son John (b. 1751) married Sally Strode and moved to Henry County. Other children included Frances Hardwick, Joseph S., Elizabeth Anderson, John, William, Sarah Walthal, Nancy Philips, and Jane Cunningham.³³

Francis Meriwether and Daniel Burford had little more influence than the preceding group, but did have strong Tidewater family connections, which gave them more of a cosmopolitan slant. Burford (d. 1787), the son of Elias Harding Burford (1682-1771), rose quickly in Amherst society. He owned at least 800 acres on the Fluvanna, Harris Creek, and Brown's Creek. He bought land from Josias Ellis and George Carrington, and his neighbors included the Roses, the Lynches, Richard Powell, Martin Dawson, James Frost, and Micajah Clarke. He farmed much of his land with indentured servants. Burford owned a grist mill, served as sheriff from 1765-1770, and was commander of a patroller detachment in 1771. Except for a temporary withdrawal in 1773 for personal reasons he remained active in county affairs into the Revolution. His children included Virginia Taylor, who had an illegitimate son named Floyd Burford, John, Daniel, Milly Crews, Frances Goodwin, and Elizabeth Goodwin. Francis Meriwether (b. 1737), son of Thomas, owned several hundred acres near Harris Creek and the Long Branch of the Rockfish under Pilot Mountain. He bought 400 acres from Samuel Bell of North Carolina adjacent to the Woods, and Jacob Miller. His family intermarried with the Lewises, Symes, and Crawfords, and owned land in Hanover, Spotsylvania, and Albemarle. Meriwether served as sheriff in 1769 and was politically active through the Revolutionary period. In 1784, he emigrated to Georgia.³⁴ All of the magistrates cited above exercised little clout compared with those from the Nevil, Cabell, Rose, Crawford and Taliaferro families. These five families, often through several generations, dominated Amherst social and political life. David Crawford, Jr. (1697-1766), was the original family settler in Amherst, migrating from Hanover. He lived on more than 800 acres near the forks of the Rockfish. Unlike the

Reids, who were confined largely to the northern Scotch Irish settlements, the Crawford family were the dominant resident landowners of the entire Rockfish Valley. Crawford was a religious man, but his secular possessions were anything but otherworldly. His mansion, Tusculum, was perhaps the finest example of architecture along the Rockfish River. At his death he bequeathed a personal estate worth £950, including 23 slaves worth more than £525, and £3 worth of books.³⁵

Longevity seemed to be the Crawford family trademark. David's father lived to be a hundred and his mother, Elizabeth Small, died at 101. His wife, Ann Anderson (1708-1803), enjoyed the same longevity. His children, Joel (1736-1813?), Nathan (1744-1833), Ann (1752-1814), Sarah (1740-ca. 1831), and Susan (b. 1729) married into the Harris, Anderson, Jacobs, Yancey, and Barnett families, respectively. His sister Elizabeth married into the Rockfish Martin family, while sister Mary (1703-1794) married John Rodes of Albemarle. Crawford was the uncle of a future Rodes justice in Amherst, the father of future justice David Crawford, III, and the grandfather of presidential candidate William H. Crawford (1772-1858). By the Revolution, the fourth generation of Amherst Crawfords was coming into maturity.³⁶

Colonel William (1730-1798) remained the leading political luminary of Amherst County through the Revolutionary War. During the second half of the eighteenth century Cabell held the seven principal offices of the county: burgess, presiding justice (1761-1798), county lieutenant (1761-1775), surveyor, treasurer, and coroner. He was also considered the leading vestryman of Amherst Parish. Cabell's political finesse was reinforced by his massive economic power, represented eventually by 15,000 acres of choice plantation land throughout the heartland of Amherst. Land cessions from the old doctor allowed Cabell to begin development of the Union Hillgrounds by 1765. By 1770 he listed 34 tithes in his estate. Cabell's children by Margaret Jordan (c. 1812) included Samuel Jordan (1756-1818), William (1759-1822), Landon (1765-1834), Hector (1768-1807), Margaret Jordan (1770?1818), Paulina (1763-1845), and Elizabeth (1774?-1801). Cabell's myriad services stretched beyond the county to encompass frontier administration, assistance to plantation owners like the Bedford proprietor Nicholas Davies, supervision of the Meredith estate along with the attorney Geddes Winston, and aid in the construction of the Albemarle courthouse in 1762. (37) Whether one's interest in Amherst dealt with politics, religion, commerce, land, or culture, one had to consider the role of Colonel Cabell.

The Roses and Cabells had worked closely together since the 1730s. The partnership seems to have been characterized always by mutual admiration and assistance. John Rose (1735-1803?) had inherited a large share of his father's patrimony on the Tye River and Hayes Creek. His plantation was Rose Isle, where James Jones worked as overseer. Rose had served as a justice in Albemarle as early as 1757. With the creation of Amherst, he became the field commander of the county militia and acting local executive in the absence of the two burgesses. By the time of the Revolution, he had nearly restored his family to the position of prominence it had held with the Reverend Rose. he married his cousin Catherine Rose (d. 1808), daughter of Reverend Charles Rose of Westmoreland. His oldest son was Alexander.³⁸

Completing this Cabell-led troika of colonial Amherst was Zacharias Taliaferro (d. 1797), son of Peter. While not an original justice he was the first replacement selected. The Taliaferros, originally Italian, were influential planters in both Caroline and Spotsylvania. The family had been close friends with the Roses ever since the 1720s. Zacharias was also connected with the mercantile firm of Hunter & Taliaferro in Fredericksburg. Zacharias eventually owned a distillery and a mill, 1,275 acres on the Tye with James Brown, Elias Smith and John Rose as immediate neighbors. He helped Thomas Jefferson with real estate transactions. Taliaferro served as Amherst sheriff and had the reputation of physically intimidating people. A story is told that he once captured an outlaw on a partially frozen mill pond. Taliaferro married Judith? in 1761 had five sons: Charles, Warren, Burkenhead, Martha, Richard, Francis, Penn, Ann Watkins, Benjamin who married a Meriwether and later became a Georgia congressman, and Zacharias who became a lawyer. The justice moved out to Georgia with his family in 1784 and later had to sell his Amherst land to satisfy debts.³⁹

Although the Cabells bestrode Amherst as a political colossus, they were unable to control all power centers. The Nevil family had the potential in terms of status and power to challenge this fixed hierarchy, but chose not to. For reasons of temperament and personal background, and in the interests of social harmony, they preferred instead to operate in cooperation with the Cabells and remained largely in the background. Captain James Nevil, Sr., was the founder of the Amherst family. He arrived about 1742 and brought with him impeccable Tidewater gentry credentials from Isle of Wight County. He was appointed a captain in the militia in 1740, an original Albemarle justice in 1744, and sheriff in 1746. At the time of his

death in 1752, he bequeathed a personal estate worth more than £500, including at least six slaves and more than 1,850 acres in Buckingham and Cumberland. He also owned a tract of land near Dudley Digges at Forkland in Goochland and Fluvanna. His Amherst properties included at least 8,000 acres at the head of Fendley's Creek, and on Joe's Creek, Rucker's Run, and the south fork of the Rockfish.⁴⁰

The captain had married twice, fathering his oldest son, James Nevil, Jr. (1727-1784), by his first wife. The younger Nevil inherited his father's lands on the path to Tye River, and north of the south branch of the Rockfish on Maple Branch.⁴¹ In 1757 Nevil served as sub-sheriff of Albemarle and conducted commercial and legal transactions with prominent Albemarle land owner like Peter Jefferson and John Harmer. By 1758 he had been commissioned captain in the French and Indian War and was reimbursed for his company's expenses by burgesses Cabell and Howard. Nevil was subsequently promoted to the rank of major in 1761, lieutenant colonel in 1764, and full colonel in 1769. Besides being an original Amherst justice, he served as sheriff from 1763-1765, parish collector in 1764, and county lieutenant in 1775. Nevil remained a respected team player throughout his life. The surviving public and personal records indicate that he was particularly close to the Cabells, Hendersons, and Keys. Nevil's wife was named Mary and he had four daughters, Elizabeth, Sally, Lucy, Molly, and Esther. The colonel was also survived by four sons, Cornelius, Louis, John and Zachariah. Zachariah (c. 1830) continued the family political tradition and served in the House of Delegates from Amherst in 1829. The latter cemented his influence by marrying Ann Scott Jefferson, niece of the president.⁴²

An even more powerful member of the Nevil family in the 1760s was James's step-brother, Cornelius Thomas (ca. 1730-1775). At one time the political equal of Colonel Cabell as his fellow burgess, Thomas's life and career present a number of infuriating riddles. Even his genealogy is shrouded in a morass of possible relatives. The only certainties are that he was the adopted son of James Nevil, Sr., the child of Nevil's second wife who styled herself Lucy Thomas Nevil (d. by 1783?), and that he insisted on keeping the surname Thomas after his adoption. No information has come to light on the background of Lucy, and only logical conjectures can be made concerning Cornelius's natural father. Conflicting accounts claim alternately that Lucy was married to a Thomas and that Cornelius was

illegitimate. Alexander Brown cites ten separate Thomases in his list of the earliest settlers. Several possibilities present themselves. One explanation is the Lucy might have been from the gentry family of Lewis and gotten involved with the German John Thomas, recorded in Orange County before 1742, and a possible relative of those living in the Dutch settlement at Nassau. If so, the family could have tried to prevent the marriage as beneath their standing and/or disinherited her.

A John Thomas (d. 1847?) possibly the son of Cornelius, is recorded as having come to Ivy Creek in Albemarle from Amherst and married first Frances Henderson. The Thomases had connections in Essex County and the Hendersons were good friends of the Nevils. His children by this marriage were Warner, Norborn K., James, Elizabeth, and Lucy. The last four shared names popular in the James Nevil family, as well as those of Cornelius Thomas's own children., This John Thomas subsequently married Frances Lewis. A Michael Thomas is also listed as being a German living in Madison County in the congregation of Reverend George Samuel Klug. In 1752 this Thomas and other Germans were granted 30,000 acres west of the Greenbriar River. Another possible husband or mate for Lucy is Henry Thomas, who lived on the fork of Nevil's Creek. Henry Thomas is mentioned by Robert Rose on March 29, 1750, as a canoe overseer for tobacco shipments. Other possible relatives include Michael Thomas, Jr., who lived on Little Mount Pleasant, Pedlar River, and Harris Creek. He served as a constable in the 1740s and in 1757. A Michael Thomas (d. 1802) lived near Hog Creek of the Rockfish and became an Albemarle justice in 1783. There were also James Thomas, living on the Pedlar in the 1740s; Gideon Thomas who served in the French and Indian War; John Thomas who fought in the Revolution; and a Thomas mercantile outfit that did business in Albemarle .⁴³ More solid evidence exists for the names of Cornelius's siblings, who were either full sisters or descended from the union of James Nevil and Lucy Thomas. These included Bethemia Thomas, who married George Hilton in 1761; Martha, who married Henry Hobson; Elizabeth; Judith? who married John Hughes; and Sally, who married the Huguenot Jacob Michaux of Cumberland. Following her husband's death, the elusive Lucy married Abraham Childress. There may have been some friction between the Nevil and Thomas members of the family. Unlike his step-brothers and step-sisters, Cornelius inherited no land from James Nevil Sr. Yet he did receive a

healthy financial bequest of £230 to buy "Negroes and a feather bed" and another £200 to purchase land for his future slave property. Thomas also received four cows and three pigs. Thomas began to acquire property near the Pedlar River in the mid-1750s, and bought land in the western part of the county from Robert Davis that stretched to the Bedford line. His stepfather's connections advanced him into the area of Amherst public affairs. Like many aspiring colonial politicians, Thomas chose the highly visible post of sub-sheriff to begin his career. From 1757 to 1760 he performed this duty with diligence and competence. He won high marks for his equitable tax collection and law enforcement.⁴⁴

Thomas's lower-middle-class blood ties acted more as spur for personal fulfillment than as a barrier. While serving as a sub-sheriff, he enlisted in the French and Indian War and was appointed a lieutenant.⁴⁵ Thomas must have been quite a war hero, for within two years after returning home he was catapulted to the rarefied stratosphere of political power and social prestige with his election as Amherst burgess. Thomas's success resulted in part from fortunate timing. As the end of the French and Indian war coincided with the formation of the new county, relatively politicized and cosmopolitan Amherst veterans were eager to inject one of their own into the body politic. This was a phenomenon duplicated throughout Virginia. The other key to Thomas's victory lay in his ability to bridge the gap between social classes. His kinsmen ranged from poor to middle class farmers and laborers, and were an unpretentious lot who were close to the soil but shared the common experiences of most of the county's population. By contrast, his training and tastes were formed by growing up in the Nevil household, where social graces and ambition were emphasized. Thomas was able to mobilize his fellow veterans, appeal to the aspirations of the poorer and middling classes, and identify with the interests of the county elite.

Throughout the 1760s, Thomas grew to resemble the Amherst gentry more than his fellow veterans. He gradually amassed an extensive estate. By 1770 he had acquired land between Otter Creek, the Fluvanna, and the Pedlar. His neighbors in this area included Robert Johnston, Nicholas Davies, the Higginbothams, Thomas Matlock, and the Davenports. Along his central lands at Wilderness Run and Thomas Mill Creek, his adjacent neighbors were Marvel Stone, Samuel Burk, Sr., Arthur Tuley, and Micajah Clarke. In 1766, his in-laws sold him 1,676 acres on the south

branch of the Rockfish near Steven Johnson's property, where he was also a neighbor of his step-brother, James Nevil. Thomas disposed of a number of tracts as well, including several hundred acres between the Tye and Augusta County to James Nevil. He sold 1,850 acres in Buckingham and Cumberland to John Cobbs of Buckingham. Thomas's main plantation, "Verdant Vale," was established near the remains of the oldest European site in the county, known as the Old Stone Chimney. This was approximately in the area of modern Waugh's Ferry. His estate was worth in excess of £2000, and included 46 slaves, 114 horses, fine china, silver, pewter, and a cosmopolitan library.⁴⁶

Thomas also benefited considerably from the rapid expansion of Bedford. The volume of business between the two counties soon led to the authorization of a ferry from his land at the mouth of the mill creek over the Fluvanna to Nicholas Davies. For awhile, the enterprise had a near monopoly on east-west transportation in the Piedmont. Thomas Jefferson was among the frequent passengers as he commuted from Shadwell and Monticello to Poplar Forest. Thomas's best friends appear to have been further east such as Joseph Cabell, James Nevil, David Crawford, III and John Henderson, the latter serving as guardians for his children.

By his first marriage, Thomas fathered three sons, including John (d. 1847?); Norborne (d. 1831?), who was perhaps a Richmond merchant; and Cornelius. his daughters became linked with established families, including Elizabeth who married John Wood; Lucy who married James Lewis; and Sally who married Thomas Moore. The burgess's second wife was Hannah Scott of Buckingham.⁴⁷ Despite his affluence and recognition, the power base of Thomas became increasingly tenuous. He continued to remove himself from the lifestyle of the middle class while begin regarded suspiciously by his fellow justices. Thomas was not active in the House of Burgesses. His stand on the great issues of the time was determined more by inertia than conscious decision. He devoted much of his time to estate management and literary contemplation. The county hierarchy observed his meteoric rise and questionable blood lines with occasional class disdain. They tried to keep him, as tactfully as possible, low in the order of selection to other local offices. The office of church warden was virtually the only other local post he held. While a good friend of the Cabells, Thomas could not match their finesse and byzantine connections. Thomas remained a political symbol of increasing fuzziness while the Cabells continued to chart

the county's development and political orientation.

Colonel Cabell so adroitly manipulated his precinct chieftains that the county presented a united front in colonial politics. The skillful leadership practiced by the Cabells became indispensable in charting the treacherous shoals of the late colonial period. If Amherst residents thought the defeat of the French in Canada meant a return to largely internal concerns, they were quickly disabused of the notion. Additional war taxes were imposed in 1762 and the Indians continued to fight. The latter realized that the removal of the French left them exposed as pawns to be manipulated at will by Anglo-American territorial ambitions. Some Amherst soldiers saw action against the Cherokees. The operation ended inconclusively in 1762 as Colonel Byrd's regiment was plagued with logistical problems and an elusive enemy.

In 1763 Colonel Henry Bouquet raised 200 Virginia volunteers to crush Pontiac's Rebellion. The Indians struck even closer to home in continuous harassment of Augusta County. The Amherst militia was called out to the frontier throughout 1763. In October of that year Captain James Higginbotham and 25 Amherst soldiers joined in guerrilla warfare at New River. County residents like John Donnelly requested compensation for Cherokee raids near the Blue Ridge. Chief Cornstalk's warriors scalped settlers near Kerr's Creek in modern Rockbridge in 1764. After these hostilities declined, Colonel Cabell was appointed commissioner in 1764 for settling militia accounts in all the western counties.⁴⁸

At the moment of imperial success, the British and colonists interpreted the meaning and consequence of victory from radically different viewpoints. In their attempt to end the Indian threat, protect the colonies, and recover financially from the war, the British ironically made a series of decisions that led inexorably to the Revolution. One early decision was the Hillsborough Proclamation of 1763, which placed a restriction on colonial settlement west of the Alleghenies, others were taxes designed to secure funds to defend and develop the colonies.

The British were determined to enforce rigidly navigation laws against smuggling, establish a standing army in the colonies, and increase imperial judicial jurisdiction. Financial responsibility may have made sense to British planners, but to the colonists externally imposed taxes represented a direct assault on their accustomed autonomy. As they disputed tax policy, both sides protested loyalty to one another, but neither would budge until the issue was simply reduced to independence or

military coercion. The British applied financial pressure in several areas. Due to war expenditures, Virginia planters were unable to meet their obligations to local factors, who in turn defaulted on their debts to British merchants. This led to a severe financial crisis in 1762. The Currency Act of 1763 was designed by Parliament to reorganize colonial finances and prohibit the issuance of unstable paper currency. This in turn led to renewed restrictions on colonial credit.

The Two Penny Act of 1763, designed to help the clergy, infuriated the colonists by tying up more cash reserves. In 1763, the House of Burgesses penned its first official complaint to Parliament: "Our dependence upon Great Britain we acknowledge and glory in as our greatest Happiness and only Security; but this is not the Dependence of a People Subjugated by the Arms of a Conqueror, but of Sons sent to explore and settle a new World, for the mutual Benefit of themselves and their common Parent: It is the Dependence of a Part upon one great Whole, which by its Admirable Constitution diffuses a Spirit of Patriotism that makes every Citizen, however distant from the Mother Kingdom, zealous to promote its Majesty & the public Good.

Lord Grenville's ministry disregarded this as colonial impertinence and proceeded to enact the Sugar Act in 1764. This placed a collectable tax on molasses and imported Madeira. This helped drain the colonies of specie. Also, the planters were fond of their Madeira wine and resisted the measure on principle.⁴⁹

Discontent over taxation reached fever pitch with the Stamp Act of March 1765. The voluminously enumerated items subject to an official seal evoked memories of the Pistole Fee controversy. This latter law affected Amherst residents even more pervasively. Paper, petitions, wills, inventories, bills of lading, and all official county transactions required a tax ranging from three pence to more than three pounds. Patrick Henry (1736-1799), elected to the House of Burgesses for the first time in 1765, was the leader that mobilized the opposition. On May 29, 1765, he offered inflammatory resolves against the act that were narrowly passed. In the ensuing uproar, the burgesses were dissolved, but they decided to meet informally to map opposition strategy. Impetus was given to intercolonial correspondence and the burgesses agreed to close county courts rather than submit to the provisions of the act.⁵⁰

The Piedmont region was the most vigorous in following Henry's lead.

Burgesses Cabell and Thomas were quick to mobilize support for the boycott in Amherst. The Amherst court did not meet from November 1765 until June 1766. Amherst supported Henry because it was potentially more self-sufficient than the Tidewater counties and had fewer close connections with the seat of empire in London. For the most part, however, both Cabell and Thomas kept a low profile on these matters of colonial import and concentrated more on local issues. Both burgesses were fairly isolated from the whirlwind of Williamsburg. Colonel Cabell tried to reduce this isolation. In 1764, he was a collector of funds to improve navigation on the Fluvanna. By 1763 Staunton, Charlottesville, and New London had been incorporated, providing additional market outlets for Amherst.⁵¹

Two specific measures were adopted by the General Assembly at this time which affected Amherst. One standardized the payment of local taxes; the other lowered the requirements in voting for candidates for burgess. All white males over the age of 21 who owned 50 acres of unsettled land or 25 acres of improved land were eligible to vote. The method of voting was also clearly spelled out. All of the eligible electorate was required to vote or forfeit tobacco as penalty. Despite this, many persons successfully ignored the elections.

Compared with figures for other colonies, percentage of those voting in Virginia was relatively high, one-eleventh compared to one-fiftieth in Massachusetts. The procedure for voting began when the governor issued a writ for the election to the sheriff and the latter set the date for the polling. On election day, all candidates, the poll secretary, and the local officials sat at a long table in the courthouse, confronting each voter who made his choice viva voce. Either the sheriff or the candidates could challenge a prospective voter and require him to give an oath that he was eligible. The voter then made known his choice to the sheriff who had the secretary record it in a poll book. If sentiments were one-sided, as was often the case in Amherst, the election could be decided "by view"; that is, without formal polling. The sheriff was entitled to close the poll any time he chose, as long as he called three times from the courthouse steps for anyone else to step up. Voters expected candidates to serve liquor outside during the polling and again in the evening if the nominees were elected. Within twenty days, the sheriff was obliged to send the names of the winners along with other useful documents to the House of Burgesses' committee of Privileges and Elections.⁵²

A QUESTION OF FINANCES AND PRINCIPLES: AMHERST IN VIRGINIA,

1765-1770

"The General Assembly of the Colony have the...sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of the Colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any...persons...other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom..." ----House of Burgesses, May 29, 1765; Fifth Revolve

"Tarquin and Caesar each had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George III...may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."---Patrick Henry's Speech in House of Burgesses; May 29, 1765

The strength of resident landowners continued to grow in Amherst from 1765 to 1770. Not only were the holdings of large speculators like John Robinson and John Chiswell broken up, but eight more Amherst natives were added to the county court. This made a net gain of four, for a total of sixteen magistrates and eight precincts. Half of these men had strong personal or family ties with the Cabells. William Horsley, Jr. (1745-1791) was Colonel Cabell's nephew. He married Martha Megginson in 1768 and resided above his father-in-law's estate at Centre Hill near modern Gladstone. This property included 1,575 acres granted Horsley by Dr. Cabell. He served as a lieutenant in the Revolution and later was appointed sheriff. His children were William, Mary, Joseph, Judith, Robert, Martha, Samuel Cabell, Elizabeth, John and Nicholas. Horsley's closest friends were Zacharias Taliaferro and his brother-in-law Roderick McCulloch.

Justice Roderick McCulloch (1741-1826), came from Westmoreland County where his father was a minister. He was educated at Rockfish Gap and later taught school at "Union Hill." There he met and married Elizabeth Horsley in 1768. McCulloch served as churchwarden, sheriff, and vestryman, and was considered an able scholar. In 1761, he bought 369 acres on Stone Creek near Tobacco Row Mountain from William Floyd.

McCulloch later purchased Cornelius Thomas's estate of "Verdant Vale." He was survived by eight children, including Frances Shackelford, Mary Thornton, Elizabeth Davis, Nancy Glasgow, William H., and Roderick H.⁵³

Hugh and Henry Rose were also selected as justices in this period. Hugh (1743-1795), the son of Reverend Robert and the brother of Justice John Rose, married Caroline Jordan, the daughter of Colonel Samuel Jordan in 1767. By heritage and marriage he was immersed in the Cabell circles. Hugh held many prominent positions in the county government. He owned land near Harris Creek, Tye River, the glebe and John Ward's blacksmith shop. His lands were bordered by the property of George Carrington, Patrick Rose, Edward Carter, Gabriel Penn, and the Sheltons. His plantation was "Geddes," from where he exported much tobacco down the Fluvanna. He fathered by his wife Caroline eleven children including Judy, Mary, Robert, Fustavus, Polly, and Caroline, who married a Turpin. Henry Rose (d. 1770?) lived at "Rose Mount." He succeeded Dr. Cabell in 1766 as a parish vestryman and was very religious. His only heir was Hugh's daughter, Caroline.

Ambrose Rucker (ca.1725-1807) and Daniel Gaines were also from well-connected families. Ruckers had been burgesses in Orange County. younger sons of the family had settled near Harris Creek, Rocky Creek, Rutledge Creek, and Tobacco Row Mountain in the 1740s. They maintained a racetrack at the site of Cabellsburg, later Clifford. Ambrose was commissioned a lieutenant in 1766, and served later as sheriff, lieutenant colonel, and delegate to the General Assembly. He was also appointed a trustee of the town of Madison Heights and of Warminster Academy. Ambrose was heavily involved in tobacco farming, shipping, and mining. Good eating must have been very important as well, for in later years he ballooned to more than three hundred pounds. Rucker's children by this wife Mary included Ambrose, Jr. (1763-1827), Issac, Benjamin, Reuben, Winifred, Plunket, Peggy McDaniel, Molly Burford, Elizabeth Marr, Sophia Rucker, Charlotte Rucker, Caroline Hansford, Matilda Marr, and Sally Moss.

The Gaineses had been prominent Richmond County planters. Bernard (d. 1767) was a burgess from that county. His son Daniel (b. ca. 1740) married Mary, daughter of Wyatt Gilbert. Gaines acquired land near Tobacco Row Mountain, Rutledge's Creek, Harris Creek, Crooked Run, and

Lynch's Road. He also purchased the 960 acre estate "Sharksburg Plains" from Robert Rose, and leased the "Aberfoil" plantation to Joseph Magaan. His neighbors included Anthony Rucker, Battaile Harrison, and the Higginbothams. Gaines served as colonel in the Revolution and engaged in extensive commercial operations afterwards. He frequently acted as a bondsman and leased a number of properties to tenants. He moved to Wilkes County, Georgia, sometime before 1794. His oldest son, Bernard (b. 1767) was an early pioneer in Kentucky.⁵⁴

Thomas Wyatt and Charles Rodes were from slightly less prosperous and influential families than the Ruckers or Gaineses. Thomas Wyatt came from King and Queen County and lived near Rutledge Creek and Tobacco Row Mountain. Cornelius Thomas, David Crawford, the Penns, Roses, and Carters, were among his neighbors. His brother John, later mayor of Lynchburg, also lived in the same area. Thomas Wyatt left Amherst in 1773 and later left Virginia. The Rodes family had settled in the Hanover-Louisa region and John Rodes (1697-1775) purchased property in Albemarle and Amherst. His son, Justice Charles Rodes (d. 1805), lived in the Rockfish lands near Meriwether and Indian branches of the river. Rodes was very concerned in later years with Methodist church work. He maintained enduring contacts with Albemarle County, especially with Charles Yancey's family. he married Mary, daughter of Azariah Martin, in 1771 and was survived by David; Charles, who married Jane, daughter of Colonel James Hopkins of Albemarle; Jane Garland; Mary Martin; and Lucy Martin.⁵⁵

Besides the commissioning of these additional justices, the Amherst court was reorganized with the appointment of Edmund Wilcox as clerk. George Seaton was demoted to the post of assistant. Both men had come from Carter Braxton's home, King William County. At first, Seaton had done well for himself with land investments and clerk's fees. He bought 800 acres from Jeremiah Wade and the Ballengers on the south side of the Buffalo River in 1763, near Thomas Mann Randolph's, Edward Carter's, and Gabriel Penn's properties. From his wife Elizabeth Watson he acquired land in Henrico. After purchasing a tract from Ambrose Lee's executors, Seaton had amassed a large estate with at least 30 slaves. He also was appointed quartermaster of the county militia. By 1765 Seaton's luck had changed. He over-reached himself financially and was forced to mortgage much of his land to Carter Braxton, the company of McPherson &

Minzie, Neill Campbell, the Roses, and Carter Burwell's estate. Thomas Jefferson himself acted as attorney in the suits. Finally, most of his estate was auctioned at Gabriel Penn's ordinary in 1768. This included his slaves, dwelling house, six outhouses, a grist mill, and 2,000 acres.

Edmund Wilcox benefited from his neighbor's adversities by assuming the clerk's position and securing its perquisites. His family had close ties with the Roses, Lomaxes, and Braxtons. Wilcox's relative and Rose's good friend from Urbanna, Captain Wilcox, had owned land in Amherst by 1750. Throughout the remaining colonial period, Wilcox added substantially to his estate. In 1772 he acquired 925 acres for £750 from John Lewis of Pittsylvania. This cession was on the north side of the Tye near the lands of Ambrose Jones, Lunsford Lomax, Walter King and William Cabell. Between 1773 and 1775, Wilcox received title to 546 1/2 acres from the estates of Grymes and Lomax also on the Tye. Richard Allcock transferred some lands to Wilcox in a mortgage and the clerk acquired another 400 acres bordering William Spence and Hugh Rose. Wilcox's residence was near Tye River some two miles from the courthouse. The clerk was perhaps survived by a son Edmund, who owned land in Bourbon County, Kentucky, in 1808.⁵⁶

With the repeal of the Stamp Act, official county business commenced again along its usual contours in June 1766. County taxes through 1769 remained at five to six pounds of tobacco per poll. The population grew from roughly 1,500 tithes in 1765, to 1,572 in 1766, 1,730 in 1767, and 1,840 in 1768. Colonial poll and land taxes were cut sharply after 1767. Taxes in 1768, for example, totaled £182 to the colony, £873 to the clerk, and 873 pounds of tobacco to the sheriff. Most litigation involved debt cases, but there were also trials for the commission of violent crimes. William Walton and William Simpson were indicted for assault, while William Phelps was tried for a breach of the peace. James Davenport was imprisoned for assaulting a sheriff's deputy and Edward Manion was sentenced to death for murder. One suit often led to a counter suit. Henry Key was accused of assault while he in turn charged Justice Taliaferro with slander and debt. Gabriel Penn was indicted for trespass and charged Richard Lemaster with the same offense. Other indictments charged Andrew Lightle with forging a twenty-shilling treasury note and George Blain for illegally selling liquor.⁵⁷

Prison life was not particularly arduous, but a tragedy did occur in

November 1767 when the jail burned. An unfortunate debtor, John F. Gregory, was trapped inside and immolated. Andrew Reid's house was used as a temporary prison, while bids were submitted for construction. The new jail was to be 34 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 8 feet high, with 8-inch thick walls.⁵⁸

Numerous Amherst residents were commissioned as officers including Aaron Higginbotham, John Higginbotham, Charles Tuly, and Richard Shelton as captains; Lee Harris, Nathaniel Davis, Samuel Higginbotham, Abraham Penn, and Gabriel Penn as lieutenants; and Thomas Montgomery, Thomas Joplin, and George Penn as ensigns. Gabriel Penn, because he was the business ordinary keeper, was entrusted with the official standards and weights of the county. Many county residents still thought that frequent court sessions were too onerous and unnecessary and petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1769 to reduce hearings.

There are nineteen recorded inventories between 1765 and the end of the decade. Some seven estates were worth less than £50, four between £50 and £100, six between £100 and £266, and only two worth more than £400. Of the poorest group, only two testators, Daniel Aron and Stephen Martin, bequeathed one slave each. The most humble estate, that of James Gamble, was valued at less than £10. Yet, his pair of glasses and Buckle's Anatomy indicate that he was an educated man who was either devastated by some financial calamity or had transcended material worries. David Martin appears to have been an impoverished dandy, leaving only clothing, handkerchiefs, and "one fine hat" for a total of £14. Robert Warren bequeathed a cotton wheel as the residual part of his estate. The others of the group included Alexander McPherson and William Kippers. The next class of wills indicate that the deceased individuals of middling circumstances constituted the most religious segment of the population. Only one, James Warren, definitely owned a slave, Daniel. Warren was the mine manager for Robert Rose and Daniel was the only remnant of his more prosperous days. John Elliot transferred his 200-acre estate of "Elliot's Tinsque (?)" to his brother, John Elliot of Baltimore, Maryland. Michael Montgomery, with £90, was a particularly religious and educated man.⁵⁹

All of those with estates worth more than £100 bequeathed slaves except for Edward Stephenson. Slaves comprised more than one-half of their personal worth, excepting Moses Ray, who left household effects on Gilbert's Creek, land in Buckingham, and three slaves. John Matlock

owned two slaves, Thomas Mitchess had three, and William Mills and Francis Wright possessed six slaves each. Of the nineteen decedents, only Charles Carter and William Horsley were extremely prosperous planters. Horsley, father of the Amherst magistrate, bequeathed thirteen slaves and more than 1,000 acres of land. Charles Carter willed an estate worth £764.12.8, including fourteen slaves.⁶⁰ Assuming that the inventories represent a random sample, they reveal that although the gulf between economic classes widened relatively in these years, the overall level of prosperity increased absolutely.

The non-resident magnates proceeded to dispose of much of their Amherst land by 1770. Speaker John Robinson died in May 1766, leaving a power vacuum and financial scandal in his wake. Robinson's more than 3,000 acres in Amherst were largely sold by the Cabells by 1771 to twelve individuals including James Montgomery, Samuel Shelton, Thomas Jones and Langsdon Depriest. Robinson's father-in-law, business associate, and fellow Amherst proprietor, John Chiswell, died within months of the Speaker. Charles Yancey was among the Amherst residents buying Rockfish land from Chiswell, receiving his title in the 1760s in the Taylor's Creek vicinity. By the time of formation of Amherst, Chiswell had largely ended his active involvement in the county and turned to lead mines in Wythe County and on the Kanawha River. To protect his frontier investments, he had become an accomplished Indian mediator and conducted treaty negotiations for Virginia along with Thomas Walker. Like Robinson, his distinguished career ended in scandal. On June 3, 1765, Chiswell arrived routinely at a tavern in Cumberland Court House and proceeded to get drunk. He quarrelled with the Scottish merchant Robert Rutledge, who became belligerent. When the merchant threw wine in his face, Chiswell quickly dispatched Rutledge with his sword. During trial preliminaries, Chiswell committed suicide in Williamsburg. Colonel Cabell served as Chiswell's executor in Amherst County.⁶¹

Thomas Jefferson was active in Amherst during this era as both land seller and lawyer. Acting for George Jefferson of Pittsylvania, he helped manage a lottery of 950 acres on Stovall's Creek and another 1,061 acres on adjoining land. Tickets were sold for £5 a piece. A relative, also named Thomas Jefferson, who had owned 889 acres on Piney River since 1746, was declared a lunatic and most of his land was disposed. Before 1770 he had defended or prosecuted sixteen cases involving Amherst property owners,

and served as counsel for Henry Rose, John McCue, Francis Meriwether, Alexander Reid, Jr., and Zacharias Taliaferro.

Jefferson mainly handled land and debt cases, but occasionally he dealt in slander and even murder trials. All murder cases were automatically referred from the county courts to Williamsburg. Jefferson handled most of the Amherst cases from Albemarle or Williamsburg, but infrequently he conducted business in the county. In August 1767, he paid five shillings for entertainment at Henry Key's ordinary. In 1768 he paid five shillings for entertainment at Henry Key's ordinary. In 1768, while conferring with Hugh Rose, he spent another three shillings nine pence at Key's. Only July 4 and 5 of that year, he paid six shillings for some undetermined activity at the courthouse. In 1769, Jefferson was elected as a burgess from Albemarle succeeding Amherst property owner Edward Carter. From that time on, his focus was directed increasingly on colonial wide matters.⁶²

The gathering storm cloud of the colonial-imperial clash reduced Amherst's preoccupation with local matters. The county rejoiced to hear news of the repeal of the Stamp Act and Sugar Act in 1766. Yet, hopes of harmonious relations were dashed when Charles Townshend, who had replaced the Marquis of Rockingham as prime minister, imposed new duties on glass, lead, paints, paper, and tea, effective November 1767. The Sugar Act was replaced with a tax of one penny per gallon of molasses. Townshend also authored the Declaratory Act, which proclaimed Britain's right to determine the ultimate financial, judicial, and legislative proceedings of the colonies. Virginians remained unwilling to concede that authority without parliamentary representation. They vocalized their opposition through petitions, as well as in Rind's Virginia Gazette. After 1766 the Williamsburg newspapers generally supported the resistant burgesses. The colonial media became an effective tool for mobilizing patriot sentiment in Amherst as elsewhere. The political power of the Piedmont was also more clearly recognized after 1766. In this atmosphere of growing tension, Governor Faquier died and was replaced by Baron Norborne Berkeley de Botetourt in 1768, following the interim regime of Council President Blair. George III appointed Botetourt as a full resident governor, the first in the eighteenth century. This symbolic confirmation of the colony's importance did little to mollify planter resentment at growing curbs to their autonomy.

Despite the odious character of the British government, Botetourt

personally was very popular. The new county to the northwest of Amherst was created from Augusta in 1770 and named in his honor. Other new officials of the period included Peyton Randolph as Speaker (1766-1775), Robert Carter Nicholas as Treasurer (1766-1776), and John Randolph as Attorney General (1766-1776). Robert Carter Nicholas (appointed 1765; died 1804) and Robert Carter Burwell (1764-1777) of Isle of Wight County were appointed to the Council. Burgesses in counties near Amherst included from Augusta, John Harvie, George Roots, Charles Lewis and Thomas Lewis; John Talbot, James Callaway, and Charles Lynch from Bedford; John Syme from Hanover; John Walker, Charles Lewis, and George Gilmer from Albemarle; and Joseph Cabell, Robert Bolling, Benjamin Howard, Samuel Jordan, Henry Bell, John Nicholas, Anthony Winston, and Thomas Patterson from Buckingham.

The Amherst burgesses continued to be spectators of expanding colonial disunion until 1769. Cornelius Thomas was appointed to the Committee on Courts of Justice, where he served with George Wythe, and to Public Claims. Excepting a bill concerning his own ferry, Thomas initiated no legislation. William Cabell's tenure in these years gave him wider political influence and prestige. He served on Propositions and Grievances with Carter Braxton, George Washington, and Thomas Nelson. He was later added to Privileges and Elections. Cabell worked mainly on enrolled bills and helped sponsor a measure to control stray animals.⁶³ Between 1761 and 1769, Amherst members had eleven committee assignments compared to the same number for Buckingham, 17 for Albemarle, and 24 for Augusta. Carter Braxton served on the committees of Propositions and Grievances and Trade, and in 1769 he was added to the new Committee on Religion. He helped sponsor bills dealing with lighthouses along the coast, trade with Maryland, and protection of the Pamunkey Indians. In 1767 Braxton was chosen to assist in writing an important address to George III. Although much of the burgesses's time was spent in parrying new edicts from Britain, various local relief measures were passed. Laws in 1766 regulated the duties of patrollers, established an export duty on slaves sent to other colonies, and aided some of the merchants and planters hampered financially by the closing of courts following the Stamp Act. In 1767 warehouses were established for the reception of hemp, a very important commodity for Amherst. The following year the General Assembly repealed all special war taxes and finally ended all issuance of

paper money.⁶⁴

Revolutionary politics heated up considerably in 1769. The March election for burgesses was fairly routine, with Colonel Cabell paying a Mr. Joplin £31.6s for providing liquor at the polls. A petition from Amherst requested the burgesses to restrain certain tobacco merchants from collecting fees because of the remoteness of the county's citizens from the warehouse. Acts passed that session regulated public warehouses and suppressed private lotteries.

As the year progressed, Amherst citizens encountered fresh irritants from British colonial policies. Several of the Cabells, William Horsley, and a number of other Virginians requested a permit to occupy 60,000 ceded by the Iroquois at the falls of the Cumberland River. The Proclamation of 1763 cast legal doubt on this grant. Samuel Meredith demanded that he be given 300 acres of western land he was entitled to as a former captain in the Second Virginia Regiment. The Towshend Acts remained the primary point of objection. By consensus, the House of Burgesses passed a resolution on May 16 to the effect that only that body had the right to impose taxes. Copies of the address were sent to other colonies. Botetourt considered this a defiance of the Crown and dissolved the burgesses with this statement: "I have heard of your Resolve' and augur ill of the Effect."⁶⁵

The following day, the burgesses convened in the Apollo room of the Raleigh Tavern. They concluded a nonimportation agreement to boycott selected goods until the disputed taxes were ended. A conciliatory message was sent to George III but he ignored it?. The burgesses also issued an ominous statement of self-reliance "to promote Industry and Frugality, & discourage all Manner of Luxury and Extravagance." All of these measures were supported by Cornelius Thomas, William Cabell, and Carter Braxton. Botetourt had hoped that new elections would reduce the number of defiant burgesses, but he was soon disappointed. By the time of the voting in September, both Thomas and Cabell had so influenced Amherst public opinion that they were enthusiastically returned without any electoral opposition.⁶⁶

Again, the uproar in the colonies had some effect on British political opinion. Parliament reluctantly repealed all taxes except the levy on tea in April 1770. The House of Burgesses was not at all satisfied with this incomplete victory. They adopted a resolution on June 10 condemning the

remaining duty and pledging further economic resistance. On June 22, the burgesses concluded another nonimportation pact and aimed this one squarely at the merchants to enforce stricter compliance than had been observed earlier. Each county was authorized to establish a five-man committee to administer this economic association. Any three would constitute a quorum. The committee could publish the names of any violators and call for the social ostracization of the offenders by the entire community.

Both Thomas and Cabell signed this new agreement, but Braxton shied away from supporting such draconian measures. After this decision, Braxton was politically estranged from the more radical Richard Henry Lee-Patrick Henry faction. Governor Botetout died in October 1770, creating a vacuum in imperial authority just as insurgent colonial opinion was gaining ground. If the Stamp Act was the crucible of passive resistance in Amherst, the appointment in December of five associators was probably the moment revolutionary fervor was aggressively asserted in the county. The extra-legal selection of Cabell, Thomas, Hugh Rose, Daniel Gaines, and Zacharias Taliaferro represented the second clear defiance of British authority. (67) Amherst served warning that her people were insistent on autonomy, and constitutional rights come what may. This determination of the leadership to enforce economic commitment and ideological consistency among the citizens of Amherst marked the point of no return in the torturous trail towards the Revolution.

THE BREACH BECOMES A CHASM: END OF AN ERA IN AMHERST, 1770-1774

"Always for Liberty and the Public Good"--- Alexander Purdie, Virginia Gazette masthead.

Granting that the records are ambiguous, it is reasonable to assume that Charles Taliaferro, Joseph Cabell, David Crawford, III, Henry Landon Davies, Alexander Reid, Jr. and John Digges were probably appointed to the Amherst bench during these years. These men represented three new precincts for a total of eleven, and brought the full number of qualified magistrates to 22. Charles Taliaferro (d. 1791), the brother of Zacharias, at one time owned more than 1,200 acres on Horsley's Creek, Tobacco Row Mountain, Puppies' Creek, and Taliaferro's Mountain adjacent to James Thrasher, his brother, Aaron Higginbotham, Philip Smith and Lunsford

Lomax. Captain John Digges (1735-1803) was the son of William (d. 1761) and emigrated from Richmond County. He owned land at Hatt Creek near Montgomery and Harris property. His wife was Elizabeth Harris (?) and his children included William H. Digges; John; Kitty, wife of Edward Harris; Dorothea Durrett; Charlotte (1773-1839), wife of William Moon from Albemarle whom she married in 1793; Elizabeth, husband of Issac Darneille, first master of Warminster Masonic Lodge; Mary and Lucy.⁶⁸

Alexander Reid, Jr. (d. 1804), a second-generation justice, lived on the south fork of the Rockfish, Harris Creek, and Graham's Cove, adjacent to Abner Witt, James Lackey and David Crawford. He punctually attended most sessions of the Amherst court, even though he had little seniority. Alexander's children included Samuel, John Finley, John Nathan, and Alexander (1752-1837), who moved to Kentucky with John Finley Reid. David Crawford, III (1734-1802), the second justice in his family, lived on this father's property in the Rockfish Valley and at Crawford's Gap on Tobacco Row Mountain. Like Reid, he was a frequent participant in courthouse business. Crawford married Ann Henderson and his children were David, Reuben, Nathan (all of whom inherited land in Kentucky), Sally, Elizabeth, Davis, Mary Jones, Nelson, John, and William S.

Henry Landon Davies and his father Nicholas Davies (d. 1811) were both more oriented towards their Bedford property, but they played a significant role in the western extremity of Amherst. The Davieses owned a total of 31,303 acres in Amherst and Bedford. Nicholas Davies had emigrated from Wales in 1733 and married in that year Judith, widow of Colonel Thomas Randolph. He moved progressively from Gloucester, was also active in Cumberland County. In Amherst, he owned land on Pedlar River, Buck branch, and Piney Mountain. Most of his property was an original land grant, but he also bought land from George Cox on the Pedlar, and Duncan Graham near Tobacco Row Mountain. His Amherst neighbors included Peter Bays, William Allen, and Richard Burks. Nicholas's other children included Harry Ann (deeded land near Trent's Ferry) Editha, Mayo, Roderick, Whiting, John, and Beverly who inherited property in the town of Bethel. Henry Landon Davies was the half-brother of Colonel William Randolph of Tuckahoe. From his father he inherited land on John's Creek, Fishing Island, and by the Fluvanna in Amherst. Both men helped to organize a ferry to Bedford and establish the town of Bethel in 1775. The younger Davies married twice, the first being Ann, daughter of the noted

botanist John Clayton. By her he had Addison, Howell, and Clayton who married a Crawford. He married Lucy Whiting Manson in 1786 and fathered the following children: Arthur Landon, Nicholas, Nathaniel M., Mary, Elizabeth, and Samuel Boyle, who married Elizabeth McCulloch., Henry Landon Davies's main estate was "Eagle Eyrie" located on Pebbletop Mountain in present Campbell County.⁶⁹

Joseph Cabell (1732-1798), brother of William, served as justice and burgess from both Buckingham and Amherst. He also resided for a time in Albemarle. In 1752 he married Mary Hopkins (1735-1811), daughter of Albemarle justice Arthur Hopkins. Cabell served as sub-sheriff in Albemarle from 1752-1755 and was perhaps an Albemarle justice as early as 1757. He certainly held that post by 1760. In 1766 a ferry was established from his estate of "Sion Hill" (later renamed "Yellow gravel") in Buckingham over to Amherst. He removed to the latter county in 1771. Within ten years, Cabell held the offices of vestryman, burgess, state delegate, county lieutenant, and state senator from Buckingham. While living in Amherst, he was involved with the Albemarle Furnace Company, a project to clear the Rivanna River (along with Thomas Walker, Edward Carter, Thomas Jefferson, William Cabell, and James Nevil), and another operation that removed some of the obstacles from the James River.

Cabell's central plantation from 1771 to 1779 was "Winton," near the Amherst glebe. In 1779 he sold "Winton" to Colonel Samuel Meredith and moved out to his "Variety Shades" plantation in Buckingham. Cabell's five children included Elizabeth (1753-1771), who married William Megginson, the brother-in-law of Justice William Horsley; Joseph, Jr. (1762-1831), married to Pocahontas Rebecca, the daughter of Robert Bolling; Mary Hopkins (1769-1858), who married John Breckenridge, and was the grandmother of vice-president and Confederate general John Cabell Breckenridge (1821-1875); Ann, 1771-1840); and Elizabeth, II (1772-1855). All of these left Amherst.⁷⁰

With the growing appeal of western lands, the population of Amherst increased only modestly. The number of tithes advanced from 2,452 in 1773 to 2,579 in 1774. The county levy totaled £225 or one shilling, nine pence per poll. Benjamin Pollard was appointed deputy clerk in 1774, presumably succeeding the unfortunate Seaton. In the same year William Cabell, Thomas, and Ambrose Rucker requested bids to construct yet another prison measuring 37 feet by 22 feet by 3 feet thick, composed of brick and

timber. In 1773 there had been an unprecedented political struggle between Cornelius Thomas and Zacharias Taliaferro for the office of sheriff. Represented by Thomas Jefferson before the Council, Taliaferro succeeded in pressing his claim.⁷¹

Several large land transfers were made during these years. In 1770 Terisha Turner bought 1,557 acres from John Scott on Porridge Creek. This was only one tract of close to 2,500 acres that Scott had sold in the county by 1775. Gabriel Penn disposed of 2,536 acres on Tobacco Row Mountain in 1772, while Charles Patteson transferred 3,500 acres on Berry's Mountain the following year. A consortium of Richard Adams, Thomas Adams, Patrick Coutts, James Watt, and William Smith received in 1773 the last large land grant in Amherst. The patent covered 5,000 acres in Albemarle and Amherst, including Rockfish Gap. This immediately embroiled them in litigation with William Ward and John Price, who also claimed the gap. In 1774 Thomas Prosser offered 1,000 acres next to Colonel Cabell's land for sale. This tract also included 12 slaves, a shad fishery, and a limestone quarry. William Cabell purchased 1,070 acres in 1772 from Richard Allcock on the north branch of the Tye River that included the courthouse. This land title had descended from Lomax to Grymes, and then to Allcock. Cabell acquired an additional 344 acres in the vicinity before the Revolution. This property was bounded by the estates of Walter King, Lucas Powell, Edmund Wilcox, John Cartwright, George Blain, and by various mountains. In subsequent years Cabell sold parcels of this tract to William Bibb, Leonard Tarrant, Ambrose Jones, William Lavender, George Galasby, Moses Campbell, Richard Tankersley and Thomas Wiltshire.

Cabell and other county proprietors were badly shaken by the great "freshet" of May 26-27, 1771. Similar to the killer storm "Hurricane Camille" almost two hundred years later, this event marked the worst flooding since Europeans had arrived in the area. All of the low ground were inundated and many houses washed away with substantial loss of life. The county later received compensation from the General Assembly for its tobacco crop as well as £254.17.1. in relief funds. Although the material damage was quickly repaired, psychological shock from the calamity lingered through the man-made traumas of the Revolutionary period.⁷²

Death changed the social landscape as much as natural disaster did the physical environment. Some twenty-seven wills are recorded in Amherst

from 1770 through 1775. Eleven of these bequeathed personal estates worth less than £100. The poorest was that of James Young valued at 7.7.0 Only Joshua Fowler owned a slave. The Presbyterian minister Samuel Black was fairly prosperous, with 1,250 acres of land. James Small had a cache of 250 pounds of unmarketed tobacco. Valentine Ball and Rachel Blair both owned books, primarily religious treatises. Others in this financial bracket were Thomas Evans, the smith Benjamin Stinnet, Elizabeth Maddox, Thomas Shannon, and Robert Weir. Six Amherst residents died leaving estates valued between £100 and £500. These included William Lackey with two slaves; Henry Campbell, with a single Indian servant worth £25 on his land near the glebe; Moses Penn with three slaves; James Martin with eight slaves bequeathed to Revolutionary War Captain Azariah Martin (1764-1834); Thomas Dawson with five slaves; and the prison contractor, Samuel Murphy, with one slave and 107 books.⁷³

There were among the testators some ten landowners worth in excess of £500. Richard Powell, who lived near Lynch's Ferry, owned five slaves. Pearce Wade also farmed with five slaves. A number of persons influential in the early history of Amherst died in these years, including Micajah Clarke, John Rodes, and John McCue. Of the individuals not directly connected with county political offices, James Freeland, Howard Cash, and Edward Bolling were the most affluent. Cash lived near Aaron Higginbotham on 1,140 acres of land and bequeathed 14 slaves. Freeland owned land near Buffalo River, Elk Island Creek, and in Buckingham. His legacy included sixteen slaves. Richest of all was Edward Bolling of Buffalo Lick, Chesterfield County and Bermuda Hundred. His estate totaled £2,061.7.6. His Amherst chattels included 23 slaves at Wills' (?) and another 13 at Archelaus Mitchell's.⁷⁴

During these years Thomas Jefferson's interest in Amherst was waning. Jefferson continued to take Amherst law suits through 1774, including some involving Joseph Cabell, and Dr. William Cabell. On September 6, 1773, Jefferson paid for entertainment at the Amherst courthouse, his last recorded visit to the area before the Revolution. In 1770 "Shadwell" burned, necessitating the move to "Monticello." In the years immediately preceding the Revolution, Jefferson concentrated his Albemarle patrimony by selling most of his father's Amherst lands. Between 1738 and 1756, Peter Jefferson had acquired 2,000 acres on Davis ,

and Blackwater Creek, and 364 acres on both side of the Tye to Cox's and Elk Creek. Much of this had been transferred by 1761. A further 700 acres were sold in 1772 and another 900 acres on Tomahawk Creek were disposed of in 1775.

The Lomaxes disposed of even greater amounts of Amherst land than did Jefferson. The Amherst land was almost totally liquidated between 1761 and 1774. The original Lomax property was located near Nassau Creek and Rucker's Run. It was bounded by that of Philip Grymes, William Cabell's church road, John Harmer, Walter King, James Nevil, and Thomas Mann Randolph. In 1764 Lunsford Lomax Sr., had begun selling or leasing some of his land. In May 1766 Lomax had advertised 12,500 for sale, with Zacharias Taliaferro serving as agent. John Holdfast, lessee of Philip Grymes, claimed that part of this tract was unlawfully usurped from Grymes's holdings. In a trial in July of that year, a jury composed of Gabriel Penn, Joel Crawford, Benjamin Childers, Joseph Dawson, Martin Dawson, John Duncan, and Samuel Murphy found Lomax guilty of trespass on 7,800 acres. Edmund Pendleton also commenced a drawn-out suit in that year for a lapsed bill of exchange concerning Amherst lands.

Following these suits, the executors of Grymes agreed to consolidate their land with Lomax for a combined sale. In January 1767 Lomax put on the market a series of tracts totalling 20,000 acres of Amherst land. Colonel William Cabell was placed in charge of many of the actual transactions. Despairing of regaining his investment, Lunsford Lomax, Sr. (1705-1772), transferred much of this property to his son, Lunsford Lomax, Jr. (1733-1774?). The family motto, "Never Lose Heart," was certainly sorely tried as the family debt forced the cession of these choice lands.

By the end of 1773, some 31 parcels had been sold to Charles Taliaferro, George Purvis, James Stevens of Caroline (who acquired 2,370 acres); Thomas Lucas of Albemarle (who purchased 1,154 acres); John Depriest, Richard Allcock, and many others. In later years Hugh Rose, acting as agent for Thomas Lomax (1746-1811), disposed of additional properties.⁷⁶

While Lunsford Lomax, Sr., spent little time in Amherst, his sons resided there during much of the time sales were being transacted. Occasionally, they served on juries. The Lomaxes were good friends of Amherst residents Zacharias Taliaferro, George Hays, Ambrose Jones, Alexander Moore, and Thomas Hase. The Lomaxes were especially close to the Lovings, who owned land in Caroline, Amherst, Halifax, and

Spotsylvania. John Loving, Sr (d. 1769), married Lunsford Lomax's sister in 1737. In 1764, John Loving rented 200 acres from the Lomaxes adjoining the courthouse for a three-year lease at £30 annually. Loving agreed to fence the property, plant at least 200 peach trees and 100 apple trees, and farm the land with no more than four tithes. Lomax reserved the right to build stores in the area. As Lomax's protege, John Loving became very involved in the courthouse region economy and was commissioned to clean the courthouse in 1766. The family relationship was briefly strained in 1767 when John Loving, R. (1737-1804), William Loving, Henry Key, and William Alford were indicted for stealing three hogs from Lomax's estate. Represented by lawyer Alexander Reid, the defendants were found not guilty. At the expiration of the three-year lease, John Loving, Jr. and William Loving were given permanent title to 224 acres of the Lomax Nassau Tract. The Lovings were intimately associated with the courthouses of both Amherst and Nelson from that time forward.

The Lomaxes not only wielded influence in Amherst because of their land and family connections, but they were also instrumental in encouraging many Caroline County residents to settle in Amherst. Families with interests in both Caroline and Amherst included the Arnolds, Chews, Carters, Pollards, Braxtons, Bells (who were both merchants and overseers in Caroline), Scotts, Penns, Fortunes, Satterwhites, Colemans, Brans, Burruses, Wests, Poes, Fontaines, Laneums, Sheltons, Harrisons, Burfords, Taliaferros, Gaines, Keys, Dillardards, Stevenses, Wyatts, Powells, and Gatewoods. The Port Royal merchant Duncan Graham owned property on tobacco Row Mountain and Richard Allcock (d. after 18-8?) briefly owned the courthouse property itself. Richard Allcock, Sr., (d. 1767) was tobacco inspector in Caroline, a job Richard, Jr., assumed eventually in Amherst. Richard Allcock, Jr., helped run the courthouse ordinary through at least 1773, but like his Caroline associates, also fell on hard times. In 1773 he was forced to sell his remaining 400 acres adjacent to Hugh Rose and William Cabell, all of his stocks, slaves, furniture, knives, tobacco, and even a snuff box to satisfy a debt incurred with Edmund Wilcox.⁷⁸

The financial difficulties of planters like the Lomaxes and Allcocks were increasingly blamed on the colonial-imperial tensions. External political developments from 1770 to 1774 continued to nudge Amherst and her sister counties from their colonial complacency. Gradually, all hopes for a

reconciliation with Britain ended. The screws tightened on Virginia with the appointments of a new prime minister and governor in 1770. Lord North, a boyhood friend of George III, was determined to placate and bring the colonies to heel, an impossible task, especially after tensions escalated with the Boston Massacre of that year. Succeeding Acting Governor William Nelson (d. 1772) was the haughty John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Viscount Fincastle, Baron of Blair, of Moulton, of Tillymont. The Scottish peer, formerly governor of New York and the last royal executive of Virginia, was the highest ranking British official ever to reside in Virginia. Unfortunately, his style was totally inadequate for the mammoth task of conciliation. The appointment of the Tory Ralph Wormeley (d. 1806) to the Council in 1771 served notice that Dunmore would try to create a pro-government court faction.

Beside resolutions protesting English actions and laws regulating commerce, including punishment of counterfeiters, the primary concern in these years was with the Indians and the continuing impact of the Proclamation of 1763. William Cabell challenged by some unknown candidate in the burgess election of December 1, 1771. Cabell's expenses revealed the impact of the Association boycott. The refreshments included 120 gallons of cider and 110 gallons of bumbo instead of the usual, but now proscribed, rum. The faithful Joplin continued to transport these election "expenses."⁷⁹

Amherst politics went through a mild upheaval with the February 1772 session of the House of Burgesses. Joseph Cabell replaced the eleven-year veteran burgess, Cornelius Thomas, in the same election in which his brother had beaten off opposition. Joseph Cabell served through 1775. Whether Thomas left voluntarily or was forced out is open to question. Thomas's political and personal fortunes had been in a decline, but he also remained good friends with his successor. Thomas threw himself vigorously into the local politics of Amherst, but even there his influence was strongly contested. Added to personal and financial problems was the erosion of his French and Indian War constituency. In any case the county found itself more tightly in the grip of Cabell leadership than ever before.⁸⁰

Joseph Cabell was able to assert Amherst's interests in the House since he had already served as a burgess and had extended social and economic involvement with the county. He served on the committees of Propositions and Grievances, Public Claims, and Religion. Cabell dealt mainly with

land bills and was authorized to keep a gate on his land across the road from his ferry. His older Brother William served on Propositions and Grievances, Religion, and Privileges and Elections. William likewise dealt with land bills and local government operations. Both burgesses presented a petition from their constituents in 1773, asking for the repeal of the act prohibiting the excessive killing of deer in the county. This measure was rejected in 1774. Amherst managed to increase its political influence vis-a-vis its neighbors in the early 1770s. The county's twelve committee assignments in the House were double those of Bedford and Buckingham, slightly more than Augusta, but still less than Albemarle (14) or Goochland (22).⁸¹

In most respects, Lord Dunmore proved to be obnoxious to the planter gentry. In 1774 the governor estimated that only one-fifth of Virginia lands had been spoken for. Accordingly, he decided that the sale of public lands could greatly increase imperial revenues. The governor ordered that all new land be sold only at auction. Former prices were multiplied at least five times and the quitrents were doubled. By dampening real estate expansion, Dunmore had committed a cardinal sin in the eyes of the planters. Dunmore was steadily viewed as the eager instrument of other forms of British Tyranny. Colonial resentment was aroused by the Gaspee incident of Rhode Island which led to greater interest in intercolonial cooperation. A committee of Correspondence was formed in 1773 with eleven members to plan a coordinated response to British actions. The county courts and the General Court stopped hearing most civil cases because of the reluctance to prosecute planter debts, resulting in part from the boycott. Against a backdrop of mounting planter indebtedness and restriction of credit in Virginia, the Boston Tea Party occurred on December 16, 1773. The incident raised tensions to fever pitch and precipitated the final, momentous chain of events into the Revolution.⁸²

Because of this act of insurrection in Massachusetts, Lord North ordered that the port of Boston be closed, commencing on June 1, 1774. The House of Burgesses met in May to denounce the impending closure and were poroused for their insistence. The burgesses hastily reconvened at Raleigh Tavern on May 27 to continue their remonstrances under chairman Peyton Randolph. Tradition holds that Colonel William Cabell expressed his sentiments at the tavern as follows: "No one can deny that the people of this colony have been loyal subjects. They have borne their

grievances with much patience and have petitioned respectfully for their removal. All their remonstrances and memorials have been treated with slight and contempt; and now we are to be gagged. By the Eternal God! We must fight and for one I care not how soon!" Various resolutions were passed and June 1 was declared a day of fasting and prayer throughout every county in honor of the Bostonians. Each county association was reorganized to put teeth in the economic boycott.⁸³

On July 25, William and Joseph Cabell were elected without opposition to an extra-legal, colony-wide convention. This August meeting authorized the creation of county committees of safety. Colonel William Cabell chaired the first one in Amherst. The county authorized Cabell to pay £15 for its share of the costs of sending delegates to the First continental Congress. The Congress convened in Philadelphia on September 5 with Peyton Randolph as chairman. The Tidewater conservatives dominated the Virginia delegation with Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry speaking for the Piedmont interests. By the autumn of 1774, merely vocal resistance in Amherst was only a matter of time.⁸⁴

The life of Dr. William Cabell bracketed the emergence and transformation of colonial society on one end and revealed the seedbed of the new age at the other. Lunsford Lomax, Philip Grymes, George Braxton, Isham Randolph, John Carter, Robert Bolling John Chiswell, John Robinson, Joshua Fry, William Mayo, Peter Jefferson Robert Rose, Richard Taliaferro, John Reid, David Crawford, Ambrose Lee, James Nevil, Sr., and Charles Ellis had all died, but the original Amherst trail blazer remained to survive them all. Along with Walter King and John Harmer, Dr. Cabell comprised the remnant of the first generation of pioneering Amherst proprietors while his sons spoke for Amherst in the colonial forums. Dr. William Cabell continued his activities, but the advance of age and ill health slowed his pace. The doctor became involved in a breast cancer case in 1768 that threatened to destroy his medical reputation, but his techniques were eventually vindicated by fellow physicians. Land transactions, as usual, fascinated the elder Cabell. In 1770 he leased a plantation on Horsley's Creek to Joseph Milstead for eight years at an annual rent of £3.10. Milstead was obligated to plant 500 peach and 100 apple trees, and prevent their destruction by cattle.⁸⁵

The doctor's last business venture was perhaps his most spectacularly ambitious undertaking. The increasing demands for self-sufficiency in the struggle with Britain led to the renewed development of iron mines. The

Calloways established the Oxford Iron Works in Bedford near Lynch's Ferry in 1762. Although many Amherst residents used this facility, the doctor's attention turned east. In 1770 he invested in the Albemarle Iron Works at the Hardware River along with Edward Carter, Alexander Trent, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Walker, Colonel William Cabell, John Olds of Pennsylvania, and John Wilkinson from Baltimore. John Swan was appointed financial agent. Supplies were contracted from the Trent & Carter mercantile concern. Facilities included a large furnace with grist and saw mills. The company was originally capitalized at £3,000 with Dr. Cabell providing £500. The doctor later bought part of Old's interest. Despite the best of intentions, the company began to founder in 1773 because of poor timing, mismanagement, and lack of an adequate market. The doctor and the other resorted to lengthy and mutually recriminating litigation to recover their investments. Beyond these actions, Cabell mainly concerned himself with putting his affairs in order. In 1769 he wrote his will and bequeathed most of his property to his son Nicholas (1750-1803), excluding eight slaves for his own use. These lands of Nicholas Cabell became the basis of his "Swan Creek," later "Liberty Hall," estate. In 1772 Dr. Cabell's health began to fail and he died in 1774.

The intrepid explorer, land developer, politician, lay leader, merchant, physician, and cultural symbol bequeathed more than the proud memory of his experiences. Surely his most enduring legacy were his four sons, 21 grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren. Many of these would follow the doctor's path to public service and private wealth, and all would carry the traditions of Colonial Amherst into the new world of the Revolutionary epoch.

THE OX IS GORED; 1775

"Above all, when the county community gathered at the court house, the quest was for unanimity." ---Rhys Issacs, p. 371.

"There is not a Justice of the Peace in Virginia that acts, except as a committeeman."--Irving Brant, Madison, p. 155; quoting Lord Dunmore.

"The strength of this Colony will lie chiefly in the rifle-men of the Upland Counties, of whom we shall have a great number." ---Correspondence of James Madison, July 19, 1775.

Although actual independence did not occur until midway through 1776, Virginians chose de facto home rule the preceding year. The choice was not surprising. The strong guiding principles of the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment stressed the secular belief in rational, willed progress and individual advancement as the catalyst for community growth. These concerns had been expressed in Amherst through the various planter ideals. These efforts in behalf of material improvement of the frontier, the preservation of local autonomy, and the integrity and honor of class and community, were the intellectual and practical lodestars of planter life and consciousness. Planters perceived the sum total of events in the county as the reflection of their own moral probity, idealism, industry, identity, and success. Broader concerns of constitutional principles and finances coincided with a desire to preserve the local way of life and decision-making developed through forty years of struggle. The planters lined up solidly behind the Revolutionary movement because they believed they had no alternative.

The primary vehicle for planter mobilization and control through the Revolutionary epoch was the committee of safety. The committees were charged with enforcing the Continental Association, suppressing dissent, curbing gambling, and controlling prices. Ledgers of recalcitrant merchants could be examined for both price gouging and possible evasions of the boycott. Enemies of the "public good" were harassed and their names published in the Virginia Gazette. The Amherst committee, when it fully organized in November, contained 22 members chaired by Colonel William Cabell.⁸⁷ Time had ravaged the composition of the bench. Of the original twelve justices, only five remained to serve on the county committee: William Cabell, James Nevil, John Rose, James Dillard, and Francis Meriwether. Another ten justices were elected to committee posts, namely Zacharias Taliaferro, Ambrose Rucker, Alexander Reid, Roderick McCulloch, Daniel Gaines, David Crawford, Hugh Rose, William Horsley, John Digges, and Joseph Cabell. Five justices had died and seven had become inactive or emigrated. Thus fifteen magistrates were elected to the committee, leaving seven vacancies. These were filled by seven individuals chosen by the freeholders, and most of these eventually became part of the county bench.

Charles Rose, John Dawson and Benjamin Rucker were all prominent landowners resident in the county. Rucker (d. ca. 1810), the brother of

Ambrose, lived on 1,260 acres on Blackwater Creek, and owned 2,940 acres on Rutledge and Stovall's Creek. His children included James, Thomas, Bennett, Gideon, Lucy McDaniel, Milly, wife of Benjamin Brown, and Sophia Burrus. John Dawson (d. 1788) purchased land from Benjamin Moore and Abraham Warwick on the Rich Cove and Hickory Creek of the Rockfish and Harris Creek adjacent to John Lyon, John Sorrell, John Crawford, and Isacc Wright. He was related to Commissary Dawson of William and Mary and his son Thomas, who left Amherst for North Carolina. This branch of the Dawsons probably came from Scotland. A brother Martin became a Baptist minister and a brother William was a Methodist preacher. Other brothers were possibly Joseph and Lewis. John possibly married a Miss Watkins of Prince Edward. His son and daughters included John S., Nelson, Pleasant, Zacharias, Mary, the wife of a Steele, Susan, John (d. 1805), James (1781-1836), and Elijah (1784-1857). After his death, many family members emigrated to Kentucky. Charles Rose (1747-1802) owned more than 1,500 acres at "Bellevat" in the Piney Woods and later owned 1,000 acres at "Claypool" and "Rose Isle." His wife was Sarah Jordan and his children included Charles, Henry, Harry (who inherited "Bellevat"), Jane, Susan Milly, Elizabeth Scott, John M., Patrick, and Alexander F. (who inherited "Claypool").⁸⁸

James Hopkins and Lucas Powell were both Albemarle residents who owned land in Amherst. Lucas Powell, who died in Nelson in 1811, was probably the son of Lucas Powell (1696-1760?) and perhaps the great-nephew of Thomas Powell (1680-1740) of Caroline County. The elder Thomas's son Richard had died in Amherst by 1745. Another Richard Powell moved to Amherst at an early age and had four children. These included Wiatt, who married Sallie Floyd, daughter of early settler William Floyd, in 1768. He died in 1818. Wiatt's siblings included Clary (1739-1825), who married Captain David Woodroof; Edmund, who married Lucy Joplin and emigrated to Kentucky in 1782; and Richard, who died in 1815. Lucas Powell was most assuredly a cousin of these Powells. He bought land in Amherst between 1767 and 1772 on the north fork of the Piney, Rucker's Run, Thresher's Creek, and the Tye near the courthouse tract. George Glasby, James Mills, Thomas Lumpkin, and John Loving were among those selling land to Powell. His lands were bordered by the property of William Cabell, Edmund Wilcox, Walter King, James Smith, Pierce Wade, and Thomas Jefferson. Lucas Powell was survived by two sons, Lucas and Norborn B. Many of his relatives emigrated to Campbell County, Kentucky,

and to Georgia.

Dr. James Hopkins (d. 1803) was the son of Arthur Hopkins (1690-1767) and Elizabeth Pettus, originally of New Kent. James owned 866 acres on Sugar Loaf Mountain and near Loving's Gap. He also acquired a tract in modern Fluvanna County. His Amherst estates were known as the limestone tract, "Annandale," and "Athivista." Hopkins had studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and moved to Amherst after the Revolution. His wife was Ann Sparks, whom he married in 1767. His good friends included the Cabells, Joseph being an in-law; the Rodes; Miles Cary; Edmund Bibee; William Stone, and Dr. George Gilmer of the Albemarle Committee of Safety. His only child was Elizabeth who married Richard Pollard.⁸⁹

Gabriel Penn and David Shepherd did not fit the normal patterns of gentry political leadership in that both were primarily involved in trade during the colonial period. David Shepherd (d. 1782) was perhaps from Scotland himself and was a factor for the Glasgow company of James & Robert Donald. He acquired some land by mortgage from William Penn and bought land from Carter Braxton on Tuckahoe and Tribulation creeks near James Gatewood and Henry Gilbert. Other neighbors included Cornelius Thomas, James Nevil, Daniel Gaines, Gabriel Penn, and Patrick Rose. Shepherd's wife was Betsy Penn. He fathered no children. His other relatives included brothers Augustine, William, John, Dubartus; sisters Johanna Woods and Frances Ashling; and two Garland nephews, namely David Shepherd and Samuel Shepherd Garland. His three surviving brothers inherited his land. ⁹⁰

Gabriel Penn (1741-1798) was the fourth son of a very successful family that spread throughout Virginia. His father has been variously cited as Moses, George, or Robert. In any case his mother remarried Thomas Dudley and moved from Caroline to Amherst with her seven children in the late 1750s. Gabriel owned more than 2,000 acres at Buffalo Ridge, Higginbotham's Mill tract, Freeland's tract, Rutledge Creek, and near Harris Creek. These lands were purchased from Carter Braxton, the Crawfords, Ambrose Lee's executors, the Harvie family, Thomas Wyatt, and Valentine Cox. His property was adjacent to the estates of the Sheltons, Benjamin Wright, Lawrence Campbell, the Carringtons, William Jones, Edward Carter, and Patrick Rose. Penn speculated with real estate, snatching property from debtors and emigrants, especially in the year 1775.

By 1761 the merchant had organized Gabriel Penn & Company, the leading resident mercantile firm of the county. Shortly thereafter, Penn established an ordinary five miles from Samuel Watson's plantation on the main road to North Carolina. His peripatetic commercial transactions, hostelry operations, and land sales gave him wide exposure. Equally important were his political connections with the Lomaxes, his brother-in-law Ambrose Lee, and other magistrates who were in-laws, such as James Dillard and George Stovall. Penn further popularized himself through service as a sergeant in campaigns against the Indians. This tied him into the Ellis and Nevil veteran constituency. In 1769 Penn was commissioned as a lieutenant and served as deputy sheriff of the county beginning in 1771. He was eventually appointed a colonel during the Revolution. Penn married Sarah, daughter of Colonel Richard Calloway (1719-1780) of Bedford, who was a member of one of the most powerful families of that county and a leading iron merchant. Penn's ten children included Edmund, educated at Princeton; James who moved out to Kentucky; Stephen; Sophia, wife of William S. Crawford; Pamela, wife of Thomas Haskins; Matilda, wife of Abner Nash; Fanny, wife of William White; Nancy; Sally; and Catherine, wife of John Holden who moved out to Tennessee.

Besides his in-laws and neighbors, Penn's best friends included the Garlands and Zacharias Taliaferro who shared his trading interests. Although all planters depended on commerce for marketing their tobacco they often looked with disdain on the social aspirations of merchants. The planters often blamed the merchants for squeezing them financially. No one who was primarily a merchant served as justice of the peace in colonial Amherst. Penn's and Shepherd's election in 1775 reflected the begrudging recognition of the vital role to be played by influential merchants in the war years ahead.⁹¹

The Committee of Safety was able to rally the Amherst citizenry through both tried and novel methods. Amherst was a medium-sized county, ranking 30th in population out of 76 counties, with 5,296 whites and 2,750 blacks for a total of 8,046. Given the interdependent relations of a rural and diffused population, the county throughout Virginia was an organic entity and the basic unit of community and individual consciousness. Any perceived threat to the county was automatically a threat to the well-being of the family and the individual. Decisive action and popular consensus were

possible for the Committee of Safety because all politically vocal county resident respected the long-established hierarchical control of the planter gentry. Political leadership with its trade-offs of authority, benefits, support and acceptance was seen as an analogue of family relationships. Just as one did not question the authority of the father, one did not question the essential beneficence of the county magistrates without incurring alienation, ostracism, or material deprivation.

The popular election of committee members, being the first electoral ratification of local officials in the county's history, added undeniable democratic legitimacy to the group's directives. Besides relying on accepted patterns of hierarchical authority and an electoral mandate, the planter mobilized revolutionary sentiment through skillful techniques of social manipulation. In the mainstream of Amherst society communications were largely oral. For most of the population, documents conveyed the aura of almost thaumaturgic tradition and authority. The planters dramatically staged public ritual at the courthouse for the signing of association agreements and subscription lists for the aid of Boston. The fourth and perhaps most effective way of marshaling patriotic participation was the appeal to virility and individual accomplishment through the mustering of martial ardor. With their experiences seasoned by hunting and campaigns against the French and Indians, the Amherst citizenry was well prepared to contribute significantly to the military effort.

Despite the revolutionary crisis, Amherst citizens felt confident enough to embark on three development projects. The Davieses advertised in February the availability of lots for the town of Bethel, "near the upper end of navigation of small craft." Wheat, beef, and hogs were to be raised and sold. The immigration of tailors, blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers, miners, brewers, and cabinetmakers was encouraged to create an artisan community. A number of county residents on Harris Creek, including George Weir, Larkin Gatewood, Micajah Goodwin, Gabriel Penn, Joshua Shelton, Ambrose Rucker, John Burford, and Thomas Powell, Jr., petitioned the House of Burgesses for the creation of Trent's Ferry. This provided a shorter route through the county to New London than did Lynch's Ferry. Colonel William Cabell symbolized the hopes for the future most clearly by starting construction on his mansion, "Union Hill."

A number of events in March heightened further the revolutionary consciousness of Amherst. The county court met on the sixth with William Loving producing a commission as captain while his brother John

presented a lieutenant's certificate. For those who believed in geomancy, the coming conflict was heralded ten days later. An earth quake rattled the county at two o'clock in the afternoon, followed by two aftershocks. On the seventeenth, a treaty was concluded with the Cherokee Indians that soon opened a floodgate of settlement by Amherst pioneers in Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Virginia. John Rose, Jesse Allen, and William Bibb contributed money for the relief of the Bostonians on the eighteenth. Charles Rose, Hugh Rose, Zacharias Taliaferro, Elliot Roberts, and Roderick McCulloch had all contributed £1 each earlier for the same cause. On the twenty-fourth, Amherst raised £10, paid to James Tait, for the encouragement of a salt works. Another convention was called to meet at St. John's Church in Richmond. It met from March 20-27 to organize the colony's militia. William and Joseph Cabell represented the county once more.

Peyton Randolph presided, but Patrick Henry stole the proceedings with his "Liberty or Death" speech. He followed this rhetorical appeal with a proposal on the twenty-third to arm the militia. Two days later, the following resolution was passed: "...a well regulated militia...is the natural strength and only security of a free government...that such a militia in this Colony would forever render unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us, for the purpose of our own defense, any standing army of mercenary forces...would obviate their taxing for their support..."⁹³

In addition to revamping the military, the convention resolved that each county should raise one-half pound of gunpowder, and one pound of lead, flints and cartridge papers for every tithe. Colonel William Cabell subsequently delivered £63.3.9 for the county's share. Lord Dunmore, thoroughly alarmed at these developments, ordered all civil authorities on March 28 to prevent the election of delegates to the next Continental Congress. This was an absurdly futile gesture. Likewise useless was his appointment of John Camm, president of William and Mary and an ardent Tory, as the last colonial Councillor. William Cabell arrived in Williamsburg in early April and stayed at Charlton's Inn. On the fourteenth he departed, only five days before the Battle of Lexington. On the day of the Concord skirmish, Carter Braxton advertised 4,000 acres for sale on the Buffalo, that included a grist mill. Gabriel Penn acted as his agent. Before the news of northern bloodshed had trickled down to Virginia, Lord Dunmore on the twentieth had outraged virtually all of the Virginia gentry

by removing the contents of the capitol arsenal. Patrick Henry sounded the tocsins to arms in Hanover and prepared to duplicate Nathaniel Bacon's march a century before against a royal governor in the capital.⁹⁴

This appears to have been precisely the provocation the Piedmont militia was awaiting. A company of Amherst volunteer militia men was mobilized under the command of James Higginbotham, Lt. Joseph Cabell, and Ensign Nicholas Cabell and joined Patrick Henry at New Castle. James Higginbotham (1729-1813) had emigrated to the Amherst area as a youth from Boston via Tidewater Virginia. Working as a surveyor, he had acquired land near Buffalo River, the south side of Buffalo Ridge, Huff Creek, and (with Joseph Cabell) on the Tye in 1772. James began a distinguished tradition of Higginbotham military service in the French and Indian War. he was recognized as the most experienced person capable of handling an actual field command from the county in 1775. He was appointed a major in November. Nicholas Cabell had married Hannah (1757-1817), daughter of Colonel George Carrington in 1772. both Higginbotham and Cabell were to play important military roles throughout the war.

The Amherst militia did not confront Dunmore at this time. Carter Braxton was able to collect £330 for the cost of the powder and deliver it to Henry, thus deflecting his planned march. The Amherst company remained on guard to watch the governor's actions in Williamsburg.

All of the minutemen were greatly feted by the local populace. On April 28, news of Concord and Lexington finally reached Virginia. While this information kept the minutemen on combat footing, Dunmore tried to defuse the situation by summoning the House of Burgesses on May 12. That body did not meet until June 1 and in the interval the Second Continental Congress convened, Peyton Randolph presiding.

On June 10 Colonel Cabell presented Thomas Jefferson with £25 raised in Amherst for Boston aid to be handed over to John Adams. In the House of Burgesses commerce and property were still the main focus, but now the bills concerning these issues acquired a revolutionary tint. A committee was established, including Carter Braxton, to examine the state of the public magazine. Braxton and William Cabell were appointed to a task force to investigate "the late disturbances" in Williamsburg. Both Braxton and Cabell had emerged by the end of the session as very powerful figures in colonial politics, by virtue of being spokesmen for highly significant, if

conflicting, constituencies. The last official resolution of the House of Burgesses on June 24 appointed William Cabell and others commissioners for the western counties to settle the militia accounts of Dunmore's war. The House attempted to meet three other times, but failed because of the lack of a quorum. Thus on the twenty-fourth, 156 years of a proud colonial legislative tradition came to a close.⁹⁶

The primary reason the House adjourned was simply that Lord Dunmore had abandoned the capital. He left on June 8 for a British warship, refusing to give assent to any further legislation. Carter Braxton was appointed an emissary to request the governor's return, but his mission failed. Between that date and July, the Council functioned as Virginia's executive. Dunmore's uneasiness had been caused by the presence in Williamsburg of a Number of companies of "shirtmen," including Higginbotham's unit. The shirtmen were so named because they were skilled troops of riflemen wearing hunting shirts made of Oznaburg cloth usually purchased for slaves. From their belts hung scalping knives or tomahawks, ala the Boston Tea Party. An unfriendly source reported: "They look like a band of Assassins and it is my opinion if they fight at all, it will be in that way."⁹⁷

Private George Purvis of the Amherst company reported his surprise at Dunmore's departure. Showing that the minutemen discounted any hope of reconciliation, he added that he helped stand guard at the governor's palace to arrest the earl in the unlikely event he should return. Further north, George Washington had been appointed commander of the Grand American Army, numbering 16,667, in Cambridge Massachusetts. Washington persuaded Congress to authorize the service of the rifle companies through the end of the year. On June 17 the British attacked Colonel William Prescott at Bunker Hill. One of the bloodiest battles of the entire Revolution ended with the americans defeated but the British securing only a pyrrhic victory. John Brown of Amherst, a blacksmith from the Pedlar River, was among the participants.⁹⁸

The third Virginia convention assembled on July 17. William Cabell was appointed to a committee to provide for the colony's defense. Two regiments of regulars and two companies of rangers to protect the frontier were authorized. The first war taxes were also levied, to be collected by the counties. Forty shillings were required for every carriage, four shillings for every 100 acres, 3s.9d. for every tithe, and 40 shillings for every legal

writ, marriage, and ordinary license. At least for the Amherst planters, this was taxation with representation. In lieu of an organized executive, the county committees achieved the zenith of their powers, lasting until the middle of August. Taking a back seat, the justice's main concern was certifying a report that all county records were complete to July 3. The Committee of Safety, meanwhile, firmly directed and censored many forms of public and private activity and expression.

The lack of an executive was addressed by the convention in August, with eleven delegates elected to a colony-wide Committee of Safety. Peyton Randolph, Braxton's good friend Benjamin Harrison, George Wythe, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and R. H. Lee were automatically excluded from the running because of other commitments or by their presence in Philadelphia. As a result, a group with a more limited continental exposure was chosen. Both the conservative Braxton and the more radical William Cabell were chosen. Braxton was a logical choice because of his skill in conciliation and his multifarious connections. Cabell owed his selection to the strategic significance of the Piedmont and the importance of the Lunsford Lomax's nemesis, chairman Edmund Pendleton: Paul Carrington; John Tabb; Richard Bland; Dudley Digges of "Forkland," whose land in Fluvanna was near that of James Nevil and Walter King; and the Councillor John Page of "Rosewell." The three more independence-minded members were George Mason, Thomas L. Lee, and James Mercer.

The geographical distribution was six delegates from Tidewater, three from Southside, one from the Piedmont, and one from the west. The conservatives exercised firm control. Distinctions of ideology would not be overdrawn since all were very affluent planters who viewed themselves as members of the same elite. Differences were mostly those of style and timing, and these differences largely disappeared in the next twelve months. The Committee was authorized to commission all high-ranking officers, with the county committees appointing their subordinates. The newly elected executive proceeded to select Patrick Henry as commander of the First Virginia Regiment and William Woodford as brigadier of the Second.¹⁰⁰

Cabell remained at Williamsburg in his new post until August 28. He lodged with Thomas Cary, a custom established in earlier years as burgess. Williamsburg at this time was a small town of some 1,500 residents and 230 houses, but it was the undisputed center of politics, trade, and culture in

Virginia. Cabell was far more interested in commerce and politics than in culture, and applied himself diligently to his job. The Amherst leader was appointed to the subcommittee responsible for drafting the future government of the colony. Carter Braxton was equally adept politically and commercially, but was also a connoisseur of dance, theater, and horse racing. In the legislature he dealt mainly with defense matters. Among these concerns was a bill to protect Tories from unnecessary roughness. Some of the Wormeleys, Corbins, and Grymeses were ardent Tories, and because of their power had to be handled gingerly. Since some of these had similar involvements in Amherst and all were family friends of the Braxtons, the King William delegate was wisely selected to deal with these thorny relations.¹⁰¹

Before adjourning, the Convention created sixteen military districts, each responsible for raising a battalion. Amherst was placed in the Buckingham District, along with the county of that name, Albemarle, and east Augusta. William Cabell was unable to take too strong a lead in this organization because the Convention prohibited members of the Committee of Safety from holding military office. Consequently, James Nevil succeeded Cabell as committee chairman and county lieutenant. Hugh Rose was appointed sheriff and Gabriel Penn reappointed sub-sheriff. Cabell returned home to another natural metaphor of revolution, a massive earthquake on August 30. This was acknowledged to have been the most severe in living memory.¹⁰²

Pursuant to the laws of the Convention, Amherst proceeded to raise one company of regulars. The Committee of Safety paid each enlisted man £4 for providing a rifle. William Fontaine (b.1753) formerly a tutor in William Cabell's household, was selected captain of this crack unit of riflemen. This entire Huguenot family exhibited an unusual mastery of both classical learning and soldiering, his brother John (1750-1792) was the son-in-law of Patrick Henry and a colonel during the Revolution. William Fontaine's unit was assigned to the Second Regiment which began deployment in Williamsburg in late September to meet Dunmore's threat. Fontaine's Amherst regulars included Charles Eads (1755-1833), who later left for Kentucky; James Bowling (1752-1836); William Hansbrough (d. 1815) who departed for Culpeper after the war; George Purvis who married Elizabeth Murphy in 1795; Thomas Jones (b. 1745) who emigrated to Indiana;

Edmund Lyon (1752-1823) who eventually settled in South Carolina; Ezra Morrison (1756-1844) who moved to Kentucky; and Edward Ware (b. 1760) who arrived in Georgia in 1791.¹⁰³

Representatives of the Buckingham Militia District first convened on September 8 at Samuel Woods's home in the Rockfish Valley of Amherst. Amherst committee members William Cabell, John Rose, and Hugh Rose were chosen as delegates, with Zacharias Taliaferro, Francis Meriwether, and Ambrose Rucker as alternates. John Nicholas of Albemarle was chosen chairman, Charles Rose served as clerk, Gabriel Penn was district paymaster, and Samuel Woods acted as military contractor. Charlottesville was designated the point of rendezvous in case of mobilization. Two Amherst companies were authorized. Nicholas Cabell captained the first with the assistance of Lieutenant John Gilmer and Ensign Benjamin Taliaferro, son of Zacharias. Gabriel Penn commanded the other company with his friend and business associate David Shepherd as lieutenant, seconded by Ensign James Pamplin. Each company consisted of fifty enlisted men, with sixteen men rotated every twelve months. Battalion commanders included Colonel George Mathews of Augusta, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Lewis of Albemarle, and Major Daniel Gaines of Amherst. Each recruit was furnished with one hunting shirt, arms, one pair of leggings and £1 bounty for enlistment.¹⁰⁴

William Cabell left the Rockfish Valley for Augusta, where he spent the next 41 days settling Indian war militia accounts. In his absence, another part of the colonial edifice of Amherst was struck down. Cornelius Thomas died suddenly in September, leaving behind young children and his wife of three months. Hannah Scott Thomas received the dairy barn and smoke houses along with the Rockfish land from her husband's estate. Thomas's son John obtained the Pedlar River tract. Some £300 was bequeathed to his daughters. The rest of his land and personal property was bequeathed to Norborn and Cornelius, Jr.. Best friends at the time of his death appear to have been John Wood, Nicholas Cabell, Joseph Cabell, Samuel Jordan Cabell, James Nevil, John Henderson, David Crawford, Thomas Martin and Jesse Allen.

Thomas's public legacy largely vanished without a trace. His children were neither socially or politically prominent in the affairs of the county and several emigrated. The "Verdant Vale" estate was sold by the turn of the century. Thomas's own career reflected a mixed record of local political activism which failed to be transferred successfully to the broader stage of

colony-wide politics. His life was one of great potential in the midst of material affluence, but few accomplishments. Thomas had been far more successful as a planter than as a politician, and it was his wealth that made the most enduring contribution to Amherst during the war years. The French and Indian veteran would have been proud to know that the taxable proceeds from his estate continued to fuel the war economy of Amherst and the state throughout the Revolution.¹⁰⁵

Another fading colonial symbol of landed wealth in Amherst was Carter Braxton. He had already started branching out into western territories. In 1772, along with the Corbins, Gilmers, Cockes, Burwells, and John Blair, he had patented 10,000 acres in what was to be Kentucky. Like the Lomaxes, however, Braxton found that he had stretched his wealth too thin and needed to liquidate many of his far-flung holdings to satisfy creditors. By 1768 he had sold at least 5,853 acres in the county to ten individuals. Prior to 1773, Braxton disposed of another 2,000 acres, mainly along the north side of the Buffalo River. In 1773 he advertised in the Virginia Gazette that he was interested in renting lands with 30 slaves and possibly selling land or exchanging tracts for more accessible property. From 1773 to 1775, Braxton had disposed of at least 8,361 acres and more than ten slaves to Gabriel Penn, David Shepherd, James Roscow, Henry Gilbert of Hanover, Richard Jones, William Johns, Joseph Cabell, John Stewart of Cumberland and various Higginbothams in the vicinity of Buffalo River, Huff, Tribulation, Crooked Run and Rutledge creeks. Despite selling or transferring a minimum of 15,263 acres by 1776, Braxton still had enough property from his patrimony to maintain a strong interest in Amherst affairs in the coming years.¹⁰⁶

By November local affairs were almost completely dominated by the county committee and by preparation for combat. The Buckingham District Battalion of 500 men assembled for the first time on November 17 some three miles from the Rockfish Gap at the "Pond Field(?)." Each company was ordered to muster every fortnight for four days. General county musters were to be held twice a year. Nicholas Cabell's men were somewhat under strength, but were well supplied with arms, tents, and food. Most of the men were stationed between 8 and 40 miles away from the camp. Colonel John Rose and Lucas Powell were in charge of enlistments and reviewing the status of the troops. The Buckingham District had its own flag with the name on the obverse and the motto, "Virginia for

Constitutional Liberty," on the reverse.¹⁰⁷

William Cabell returned to Williamsburg November 9 to serve on the Committee of Safety. The most pressing concern for the committee was to deal with Dunmore's threat from his base in Norfolk. The Committee had little faith in Patrick Henry's military prowess and designated William Woodford, Edmund Pendleton's protege from Caroline as acting field commander to confront Dunmore. Captain Fontaine's men had all arrived in Williamsburg by November 11. They camped in the orchard of "The Grove," the estate of Benjamin Waller who was the lawyer of Amherst proprietor Walter King. Fontaine's riflemen arrived none too soon, because Dunmore commenced his march towards Williamsburg on November 9. On the fourteenth, the patriot forward position was smashed at Kempsville. Even more threatening was Dunmore's proclamation on the seventeenth freeing all slaves who deserted their rebel masters. This gained him black support but alienated most of the wavering planters who could stomach appeals to class warfare even less than treason. After a hurried training period, the Second Regiment established itself near Great Bridge to block the further progress of the Tories.¹⁰⁸

In the north the patriot attention was diverted to foreign concerns as the Boston siege continued to be a standoff. Howe replaced Gage as commander of the British forces. On November 29 Congress established a Committee of Correspondence to enlist the support of sympathetic European nations. The patriot assault on Canada at first proceeded remarkably well against the weakened British defenses of Governor Guy Carleton. St Johns was captured on November 2 and on November 13 Montreal capitulated. Benedict Arnold, along with Amherst private John Brown (later moved out to Kentucky; d. 1822), reached the gates of Quebec on the same day after a miserable and desolate freezing march through Maine. The drive stalled at this point because of the extremely well developed fortifications of the old French city. Private Brown served in Daniel Morgan's unit, a brawling Valley pioneer who deeply hated the British. Benedict Arnold had been a New Haven sea captain and was descended from the royal governors of Rhode Island, a connection that eventually eroded his patriot loyalties.

The Buckingham District Battalion trained only until December 6 then disbanded for the winter. This allowed soldiers like Moses Wright to return home to marry his sweetheart, Elizabeth Whitehead. The local court

concerned itself with surveying a road from the north fork of the Pedlar River at Henry McDaniel's plantation into the Buffalo Road at George Taylor's. The two Cabell brothers were yet again selected as delegates to the Fourth Virginia Convention convening on December 1. The county committees were told to redouble their efforts against dissidents. Imprisonment for Tories and confiscation of their estates increasingly replaced public censure. Five committeemen were empowered to conduct jury trials against the violators of the Continental Association. Carter Braxton was finally elected to the Continental Congress without opposition. William Cabell was reelected to a Committee of Safety given even more sweeping powers.¹⁰⁹

The military confrontation between Dunmore and the Second Regiment quickly came to a head when Dunmore tried to dislodge the patriots at Great Bridge on December 9. Captain Cabell's minutemen were quickly mobilized to participate in this first pitched battle in Virginia. Under the withering fire of the sharp shooting shirtmen, Dunmore's troops were massacred in only 25 minutes. The survivors scrambled back to Norfolk. Woodford followed in hot pursuit and reoccupied Norfolk on the fourteenth. Nicholas Cabell's men were discharged at Little York and returned home.

Gratified by the success and with an eye towards the northern fronts, the Convention authorized the creation of two more militia companies and one company of regulars from Amherst. Samuel Jordan Cabell, aged twenty, returned home from William and Mary on December 13 to serve as captain of the newly authorized company of riflemen. The Convention on December 21 appointed Joseph Cabell as a commissioner to help settle submitted claims for the southern Indian wars. The delegates allowed Amherst 96 pounds of salt taken from a British cruiser at Hampton.¹¹⁰

In the meantime, the Canadian campaign did not end so fortuitously. The siege of Quebec had begun on December 5 but Carleton's defenders showed no sign of desperation. Finally, it was the American commanders who became desperate as they realized the enlistments of their recruits expired by January 1. Hoping that stealth might duplicate Wolfe's success against Montcalm, the Americans attacked at five o'clock on the morning of December 31. The result was a debacle for the patriots. General Richard Montgomery was killed, Benedict Arnold was wounded, and Ethan Allen and Daniel Morgan, who personally led the assaults, were captured. Private John Brown escaped but shared the wretched spirits of the other

survivors as they huddled in the cold still outside the city.

The end of the year found Amherst and Virginia both triumphant and buffeted, resigned to full-scale war, but expecting of a speedy resolution in their favor. Although there were some regrets in Amherst at the end of the old order and the uncertainty of the future, most citizens believed that they could carry the best of their traditions and lifestyle with them into the new age. Although less at center stage, in coming years, colonial Amherst would rise like a phoenix into the new vitality of the American republic. The following song, popular in Amherst at the close of 1775, reflects the consciousness and hopes of the times:

THE LIBERTY SONG

Come join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
And raise your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call,
No tyranny's arts shall suppress your free claim
Or stain with dishonor America's name.
In freedom we're born, & in freedom we live.
Our purses are steady-steady friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we'll give.

Our worthy forefathers _ (let's give them a cheer)
To climates unknown did courageously steer;
Through oceans to deserts, for freedom they came.
And dying bequeathed us their freedom and name.

...Then join hand in hand brave Americans all,
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For heaven approves of each generous Deed.

All ages shall speak with amaze and applause,
Of the courage we'll show in support of our laws;
To die we can bear, but to serve we disdain.
For shame is to freemen more dreadful than pain.

This bumper crown for our Sovereign's health
And this for Britania's glory and wealth'
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,
If she be but just & we are but free.¹¹¹

CHAPTER VII

MARKETS, MANORS AND MORES: THE CULTURE OF COLONIAL AMHERST

As important as politics and land improvement were for colonial Amherst, they colored more than they embodied country life. The practice of religious beliefs, adherence to social mores, pursuit of education, concern for domestic management, and quest for profit filled the core of Amherst culture. These patterns of life largely determined the visceral responses to politics and territorial control. The cumulative effect of these rhythms of daily behavior and thought are important in three respects. First, they reveal unifying cultural features that enabled the county to develop organically through change and continuity. Amherst was a community of widening concentric circles. It shared a civilization as narrow as the western Piedmont and as broad as the British Empire. The values of Virginia society and the demands of an American identity constantly mediated between these two ends of the spectrum. Second, these domestic patterns differentiated the strata of Amherst society. Their very pervasiveness determined the contours of conflict and reconciliation among social classes. And last, these matters of manors, mores, and markets, whether sublime or mundane, led as inexorably to the Revolution as the more obvious political disturbances.

The geographical position of Old Amherst determined that the county should steer a middle course between the demands of social extremes. Amherst culture eclectically combined elements of English, Chesapeake, Valley and frontier societies. Idiosyncratic features of the primitive west coexisted with the refined Anglophilic emulation found in the plantation east.

Through the 1760s the planter gentry of Amherst found themselves in the paradoxical position of striving to become more like metropole Englishmen while at the same time forced to fashion a separate American world view. One by one the props of empire -

the Established Church, an English education, and transatlantic trade - became discredited or discriminatory in the eyes of planters at the very time these emblems of empire were expected to usher in a tranquil millennium. Nowhere was this erosion more apparent than in the volatile realm of religion.

CONGREGATIONS AND CHARACTERS

In 1761 the Anglican church appeared predominant in Amherst. Both county burgesses were among the original churchwardens of the parish. All socially validated institutions, in theory, provided one means of support or another for the smooth functioning of the parish. Yet the very success of the church became its own undoing. Robert Rose left a ministerial legacy that no subsequent pastor could follow but all Anglican ministers imitated his secular prowess. Unfortunately for Rose's successors, it was not longer possible in 1761 for a rector to carve out his own barony on virgin land. The Anglican ministers became more worldly and less prominent in gentry affairs. John Ramsay (d. 1767) one of the first replacement of Robert Rose as vicar of St. Anne's was disgraced by charges of fornication, adultery, and neglect of duties.¹ The first minister of Amherst Parish, Ichabod Camp (ca. 1726-1786) was a Connecticut Yankee educated at Yale. Though he avoided scandal, he was more noteworthy for futile estate engrossment than preaching the gospel.²

The administration of parish affairs was basically relegated to the parish clerk. One of the most important tasks of this individual was maintenance of a register for white, black and Indian births for a charge of three pounds of tobacco per entry. The clerk was also responsible for all general business operations of the church and for overseeing disbursements for charity and construction. William Cheeke staffed this position from 1765 to 1772 and was succeeded by John Peters. The glebe was in the western part of the county (modern Amherst) while St. John's, later Key's, was in the east (modern Nelson). The planter gentry in their capacity as vestrymen exercised the greatest power in Anglican affairs. They administered the local precincts and processioned, or marked the boundaries, of these districts. The very affluence of these laymen diminished

Anglican spiritual influence.³

The decline of Anglican piety, orthodoxy, and ministerial control inevitably benefited Protestant dissidents, some more and some less. The oldest nonconformists, the Quakers, enjoyed their fleeting Piedmont golden age in the later colonial period. The Quakers, oddly enough, were to gain little from growing Anglican laxity. The center of Friends activity lay outside the county at the South River Meeting in Bedford. A number of communicants from western Amherst, notably Micajah Clark, Christopher Lynch, Micajah Moorman (1735-1806), and various Terrells, regularly attended the sessions and were important leaders in the meetings's affairs.

As leaders these men faced a blunt reality. The elimination of official persecution by the Established Church only gave way to popular hostility. Quaker discipline, progressive social policies, and concern with educating all sectors of the population antagonized the adherents of other religions. No colonial religion confronted social, racial, or sexual inequality as forcefully as did the Quakers, and all other religious groups felt an implied rebuke in the policies of the Friends. Consequently, the Quakers were increasingly perceived as social, even if not legal, pariahs.

The climate of ostracism induced many Friends to emigrate or to deviate from Quaker practices. In 1770 Micajah Clark was disowned (expelled) by the meeting for "frequenting places of sport." A general resolution was passed at South River in 1774 denouncing those members "going out into Vain Fashions and customs of the World." Some, like Achilles Moorman, were condemned for yielding to the blandishments of military recruiters and forsaking pacifism. Several of the Amherst Terrells were roundly chastised for personal improprieties. The impending collapse of the Amherst Quakers was most clearly heralded by their debates over slavery and opposition to England. In March, 1744 South River adopted a policy of official neutrality in the colonial imperial conflict, thereby offending both sides. The decision of the Friends on slavery was even more fateful. The monthly meeting began discussions on the morality of slave ownership in 1769. In 1774 Christopher Johnson and Micajah Terrell emancipated their slaves. By 1775 monthly meetings throughout

America were directed to manumit their slaves. By the Revolution, Amherst Quakers had broken ranks with the Amherst gentry over slavery, politics, and social comportment. They had also incurred the dislike of the evangelicals because of their stress on enlightenment over emotional fervor. Within a generation, the Amherst Friends would be only a fading memory.⁴

Through the 1770s, Amherst Presbyterians managed a precarious balance of evangelism, social prestige, a reputation for integrity, and an abiding concern for higher education. The pre-Revolutionary battle for Protestant toleration was largely shouldered by the Presbyterians, and Amherst congregations were very significant in those endeavors.⁵ The Amherst churches were a pillar of Virginia Presbyterianism throughout these years. Their strength was derived from the fortuitous happenstance of geography., The Scotch-Irish were the group most receptive to Presbyterian thought and they spilled into Amherst from their Valley stronghold of Augusta. Early Presbyterian itinerants often preached in Amherst on their trips through the Valley of Virginia. Settlers from the east brought the Presbyterian message to Amherst after the Hanover Presbytery organized in the middle 1750s. When the Presbyterian Old Lights and New Lights merged in 1758, they brought to bear a powerful united front against the Anglicans.

Prior to 1761, John Craig, John Brown (d. 1803), and Samuel Black had been most instrumental in organizing Amherst Presbyterians. The reconciliation of the contending Presbyterian factions in 1758 caused some turmoil in the Amherst area. Reverend Black incurred the disfavor of some of his newly gained parishioners. (6) In the first meeting of the Hanover Presbytery held in Amherst on July 18, 1759 Black (d. 1771) was replaced by John Craig (d. 1774) and Henry Patillo (1726-1801). Craig was rigorously intellectual in his sermons. One surviving address contains 7,500 words divided into fifty-five sections.⁷ For the next sixteen years, Amherst Presbyterian flourished under a succession of competent ministers. The sect's administrative procedure rotated ministers frequently and most Amherst congregations shared one or more itinerants with other counties. By 1775 Amherst Presbyterians had assembled at the courthouse, at their old Rockfish church, on Tobacco Row

Mountain, on Buffalo River, at Pedlar Mills, and at Hat Creek. These were serviced by at least fourteen ministers.⁸

The most prominent Presbyterian itinerant in Amherst during these later years was David Rice (1733-1816), the scion of a prominent Virginia family of clerical intellectuals. Born in Hanover County, Rice was educated at Nassau Hall, later Princeton University. He replaced the Reverend Samuel Davies and ministered to Hanover County in 1762-1763. After a dispute with his church elders, Rice left for Bedford in 1766, where he remained intermittently through the years of the Revolution. He first appeared in Amherst in 1762 and became an occasional pastor to various congregations from 1770. For a brief period in that latter year, Rice made his residence at Hat Creek.⁹ The importance of Amherst in Presbyterian affairs is evidence by the four synod conventions in the county: October 1772 at the Rockfish Meeting House; October 1773 at Rockfish; November 1774 at the homes of William Wallace⁽¹⁰⁾ and Colonel Cabell; and in 1775 at Rockfish. Usually these involved ministerial appointments and aid to institutions of higher learning such as Princeton, Liberty Hall Academy (later Washington and Lee University) in Augusta or Prince Edward Academy (later Hampden-Sydney College).

Leading Presbyterians of Amherst generally constituted the second tier of influential citizens. Elders were drawn from such families as the Wallaces, the Hays, the Morisons, the Montgomerys, the Wrights, and the Irwins; elder and Justice Alexander Reid was probably the most powerful and wealthiest of the Amherst presbyterians. With protectors like Reid and toleration from men like Burgess Cabell, the Amherst Presbyterians fared better than most of their co-religionists further east. The only confirmed record of anything resembling harassment involved Samuel Leake, Jr., who was indicted in November 1774 for riotous behavior. The Amherst congregations were not content with the mere absence of persecution. By 1773 the Hanover Presbytery was moving energetically for reform legislation in the House of Burgesses. Agitation in favor of amending religious statutes particularly characterized the synod convocations at Rockfish. In the November 1774 meeting, the Rockfish gathering demanded equal rights rather

than simple toleration.¹¹

The Revolution crowned these efforts with success, but signs of new trouble had already appeared for the Presbyterians. In 1775 the Rockfish congregation was cited by the synod as deficient in numbers.¹² Many Piedmont and Valley Presbyterians had already begun their peripatetic treks to Kentucky and other parts west of Amherst. Like the Quakers, the Presbyterians would soon suffer from the growing appeal of evangelicals, who distrusted the intellectual standards of the Presbyterians. Methodists and Baptists, with a more entrenched base in the popular culture of poor whites, profited from the spade work of the Presbyterians. The Methodist and Baptist search for a simple, intuitive faith enticed many from the Presbyterian fold. The first Methodist circuit in the west was organized in 1774 by Devereaux Jarratt, perhaps a one-time resident of Amherst. Prior to the Revolution, there is no documentary record of Methodist activity in Amherst.

The Baptists, however, made substantial gains early in Amherst. Given the modern Baptist reputation for conservatism, it is ironic that these early Baptists were labeled political radicals and associated with the eighteenth-century German anarchist community of Muster. In reality, Baptist radicalism consisted only of a persistent resistance to any civil regulation that tried to proscribe their largely apolitical church procedures. The General Court, as a result of this official distrust, authorized that only one Baptist meeting should be licensed in every county. This was quickly disregarded in Amherst as soon as missionary work outgrew one congregation. Amherst Baptists received their earliest assistance from the Albemarle Association. The Albemarle Baptist minister, Martin Dawson, had many Amherst relatives and he had canvassed the county of his kinsmen by 1770. Dawson persuaded the Coleman family to donate land near the Buffalo River, and by 1771 Buffalo Baptist (now Mt. Moriah) was established under Reverend Hargitt with John Waller serving as clerk. Before the year ended, Buffalo claimed twenty-six communicants. In defiance of the General Court, one O. Flowers organized Ebenezer Baptist in 1774 on land given by James S. Higginbotham from this "Poplar Grove" estate. The church boasted eighty charter members.¹³ From that time forward, the Baptists never looked back until they were the

dominant religious group in Amherst.

Protestant dissidents and fundamentalists thoroughly criticized Amherst society, transcending church structure and religious liberties. These Protestants attacked both the Established Church and the gentry for their indolence, extravagant tastes, and moral turpitude. Excepting the Quakers, these objection to the lifestyle of the county gentry were not subversive to the hierarchy of Amherst in the sense of challenging the gentry's leadership in political (other than in religious legislation) or economic matters. To the contrary, the evangelicals preached that obedience must be given to temporal master just as to heavenly ones. God's world for them was a natural hierarchy and the gentry were its natural leaders in secular affairs. Precisely because fundamentalists held the gentry to be God's stewards, they expected moral behavior worthy of such a trust. Looking about them, they perceived that the gentry had all too often abdicated their designated role of inculcating virtue through example. Gambling, horse-racing greed, over-indulgence, or sexual promiscuity - the evangelicals observed a host of gentry sins. Grievous enough as these upper class faults were, the fundamentalists believed they would wreck the lives of the subordinate classes who were all too eagerly aping their betters.

The evangelicals saw these vices as a comprehensive pattern of sin made endemic by a society dominated by a corrupt and depraved church establishment. Samuel Davies spoke for most of the evangelicals when he denounced gentry leadership for leaving serious religion "to the vulgar... and abandon[ing] themselves to lawless pleasures, to gaming, cock fighting, horse-racing, and all of the fashionable methods of killing time as the most important and serious business of life." The Virginia Presbyterians declared a day of fasting and prayer in 1764 because of "prevailing of vice and immorality and the decay of vital piety."¹⁴

The gentry believed their status and social omniscience entitled them to a flexible lifestyle. What might be sin, avarice, or degradation for others could be defended as manifestations of genteel living. Since the lower tier of society could engage in no such self-righteous cants of rationalization, similar behavior by them was labeled deviant, immoral, and disrespectful of class

divisions. Many Amherst gentry patterned their standards of behavior on the high culture of Williamsburg and the Tidewater. Despite the constant interaction of Amherst gentry shuttling to and from the Tidewater, the colony was still too diffuse and decentralized for Williamsburg, much less London, to dictate the total lifestyle of outlying communities. Amherst alternately emulated, ignored, and resisted the blandishments of Williamsburg and imperial culture.¹⁵

Whatever their model, the Amherst gentry refused to change their privileged behavior and the fundamentalist Elijahs were forced to remain prophets howling to the wind. This was particularly true in criminal prosecution. Only rarely were member of the gentry hauled to the dock. In 1769 Samuel Ward was indicted for unlawful gaming in an ordinary and Justice Alexander Reid, Jr., was reprimanded by his colleagues for not suppressing the gambling.¹⁶ Even in this case, it must be noted that Reid was not a member of the Anglican establishment. George Blain was indicted in 1768 for keeping a tippling house, for slander, for swearing, and for ill-treatment of servants. Although somewhat affluent, Blain was not a full-fledged member of the gentry either. Respectable citizens might be rebuked for mistreating slaves, servants, and apprentices, but the later groups were far more likely to be sentenced for serious criminal offenses. No master was ever as severely punished as his runaways. Only in matters of debt did the gentry verbally flagellate on another, and rare was the day a member of the subordinate classes could collect from the county leadership.¹⁷

The poor and artisan class suffered almost exclusively from punishments meted out from gambling, slander, profanation, adultery, and insubordination. None of this is to indicate that the gentry were deliberately callous toward the subordinate classes. The indigent were given some administered by the Anglican church. Thomas Waugh contributed 1,000 pounds of tobacco to meet the needs of four poor persons. Thomas Gillenwater, a "poor ancient person," received 500 pounds tobacco for his care. Bastards and orphans were also maintained through the parish levy and frequent reports were submitted concerning their welfare. In all its aspects, the Amherst criminal and moral code was enforced in such as way as

to reinforce the gentry's perception of its own virtue, immunity and hierarchical control.⁽¹⁸⁾

SOURCES OF GENTRY AUTHORITY: INTELLECT AND LITERARY TASTES

Educational standards maintained these patterns of hierarchical control. For most families outside the planter class, knowledge was defined as the accumulated oral wisdom of successive generations. Small farmers regarded most aspects of book culture with a mix of suspicion and awe. Intellectual abstractions were seen by many as irrelevant or as threats to the pre-ordained social order. One book alone, the Bible, was deemed worthy of universal comprehension. Even so, many "understood" the Bible without benefit of reading. The sermons of evangelical ministers ensured that devout but unlettered farmers would not suffer from spiritual ignorance.

Oral culture adequately served the purposes of practical experience, folk culture, and religious fundamentalism. For the bulk of Amherst's population, oral tradition determined the parameters of world view. This folk culture was undoubtedly rich, but our own perspective is dimmed by the logical absence of written information. It is beyond dispute that this oral culture often proved to be a more decisive catalyst for religious movements, social change, and political mobilization than for intellectual culture. But the limitations of oral tradition were equally important. Comprehension of the written word was the key to power in colonial Amherst and provided the only available access to gentry status. Unlettered Amherstians were at the mercy of their better educated brethren in a host of documentary transactions. The lives of virtually every resident of Amherst were touched by records ranging from deeds and wills to taxes and court cases. Rudimentary literacy was indispensable for any individual who had rights to assert or interests to protect. Formal education was the privileged preserve of the planter class. Classical schooling was not only beyond the means of the average subsistence farmer, but was also held to be unsuitable for the lower classes. This barrier also applied to most youngsters in crafts and trades, although apprentices could pick up a great number of specialized skills. The gentry carefully proscribed the educational levels available to all sectors of the population.

Educational opportunities were merely one more aspect of social stratification. Fixed educational levels helped to certify gentry authority and in turn validated a society dominated by gentry tastes, standards, and visions.

Even among the Amherst gentry, learning was rarely valued for its own sake. Formal education was almost always seen as a means to a desired end of social distinction. The noted schoolmaster, Reverend James Maury of Louisa, succinctly analysed the true educational interests of the gentry: "The prudent management of a large Virginia estate requires so frequent and so close an inspection, in Order not only to improve, but preserve it, that the Possessor, when once he comes to be charged with the Care of it, can expect but little of that Leisure and Repose, which are requisite for a pleasurable or successful Engagement in such Parts of Literature, as the Languages, Criticism, and curious and deep researches into Antiquity. And yet, Sir, Parts of Literature these evidently are, with which even a Virginia Gentleman ought to have some Acquaintance; destitute of which he must inevitably make but a ridiculous and Awkward Figure in Life. And the Rudiments of these must be acquired in Childhood and Youth, or not at all." ¹⁹

This account actually understates the practical value of education for most gentry, for formal learning was vital in ministerial qualifications, in political leadership, and in piloting the complexities of efficient estate management.

Formal education for the most part meant classical training. Greek and Latin were standard prerequisites for the educated man of the eighteenth century. Instruction of English literature and history were intended to complement the classical curriculum. To the extent that a schoolmaster was influenced by Enlightenment thought, the courses were designed to stimulate critical reasoning. Greater emphasis was placed on grammatical knowledge, syntax, and rote memorization. complex figure aptitude was useful for all planters, and was of especial significance for merchants. The importance of science was only beginning to dawn on late colonial Virginia teachers. History and literature were studied for their ethical content and also valued for stylistic aesthetics. The leading affluent families often employed fencing instructors, dancing masters, and musicians to polish the

social graces of their progeny. This classical training was largely for boys, but girls might have instruction in the duties of being a proper hostess and a submissive wife.

Education was for the most part a private affair in colonial Amherst. Only on rare occasions were community schools established. One such school, located near the Rockfish River Road between the homes of Michael Craft and Francis Wetherd, is obliquely mentioned in the 1775 county order book.²⁰ More typically, schools were set up in the house of a planter or a minister. These classes were open by invitation only to the sons of other planters in the area. Instruction often rotated year to year among a very limited number of planters.

There were very few professional schoolteachers in colonial America and Amherst was forced to recruit either semi-employed ministers of itinerant graduates fresh from William and Mary. The latter hoped their teaching services would secure them the aid of patrons in obtaining gentry status for themselves. The pressures of teaching and the small remuneration caused many to drop out before their social quests were realized. The turnover rate was also high because most instructors continued to migrate in search of greener pastures. Few schoolmasters lasted more than three years. William Cheeke, the parish clerk, was exceptional in maintaining his glebe school from 1766 to 1771. Other local teachers, with the presumed initial dates of their instruction, included William Horsely (1740s), William Cox (1762), a Mr. Martin (1763), John Clay (1763), Roderick McCulloch (1768), Peter Fontaine (1770), William Fontaine (1774), and Reverend Robert Buchan (1775). Most of these are known to have taught at Cabell homes. Horsley and McCulloch successfully used the Cabell connection to secure gentry status. Both married into the Cabell family. McCulloch became a justice of the peace and several Horsley descendants were appointed to the bench. William Fontaine later became a prominent Revolutionary War officer.²¹

A letter from Nicholas Davies to Colonel William Cabell in early 1763 illustrates the desired background and training of a typical instructor: "In answer to your request per Mr. David Wright please to know that Mr. Martin intends to teach at my house two(?) years; and that he is allowed by our Parson and all yt know him, to be well

qualified to instruct youth in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and some branches of the Mathematicks; He has been regularly bred; and is a Bachelor of Arts: The Terms this year is twelve pounds, for Board and Schooling; and for Schooling only five pounds, which will be cheapened, because Board may be had on better Terms; than with one (i.e. discount if pupil lives at home or shares expenses with other boarders in family). *22

Instructional costs ranged from twenty shillings to close to £20. None of the Amherst teachers had reputations as classical scholars, so for further education Amherst pupils had to go elsewhere. This opportunity was open only to the favored few. Albemarle, Augusta, and Prince Edward all had advanced academies. The schools of John Nicholas and James Maury (1718-1769) in Albemarle and Louisa were generally preferred above the rest before 1776.²³

These boarding schools usually marked the end of formal training for most of the gentry., A few of the county magnates pushed on step further by sending their sons to the College of William and Mary. Most of the William and Mary students connected with Amherst were sons of absentee landlords. Amherst natives and residents were represented largely by the Cabell family: Nicholas Cabell, from 1769 to 1772; Samuel Jordan Cabell from 1772-1775; and Landon and William Cabell, Jr., both arriving in 1775. Samuel Camp, son of the parish minister, attended in 1768 and one Archibald Campbell enrolled in 1775. There is also circumstantial evidence that the future clerk Edmund Wilcox was able to attend William and Mary as a scholarship student.²⁴

The normal collegiate course was three years at £13 per term. A complement of one hundred students matriculated each year. The original purpose of William and Mary had been to train Anglican ministers, but by 1761 the college was recognized as offering the best classical curriculum the southern colonies had to offer. The schools consisted of philosophy, divinity, natural law, and medical divisions with the philosophy curriculum being standard for most of the gentry. Most of the latter offerings were divided into natural philosophy and moral philosophy, which included rhetoric, literature, and history. Professors included Reverend Goronoway Owen, Thomas Gawtkins, Reverend Jacob Rowe, John Dixon, Samuel Johnson, and

Preston. Professor William Small has been immortalized by the homage paid by his most outstanding pupil Thomas Jefferson. These teachers covered a variety of conventional courses and several were specialists in such exotic items as Welsh poetry and orientalism. The faculty was greatly buffeted by recurrent institutional strife, but by and large they maintained high educational standards.²⁵

The only other Virginia college organized before the Revolution was Hampden-Sydney, established in late 1775 as a Presbyterian school. Colonel William Cabell was appointed a trustee on November 8, 1775, but no students attended from Amherst before the war commenced. Some itinerant Presbyterian ministers in the county were educated at the College of New Jersey, later Princeton. Apparently no native Amherst residents attended any other colleges before 1776. Alexander Brown claims that Samuel Jordan Cabell would have been sent to English schools but for worsening relations with the metropole.²⁶

College did not mark an end to higher culture in Amherst. Many of the leading social and political figures of the county maintained a great enthusiasm for reading and took great pride in their well-stocked libraries. There were also a number of highly literate, self-taught merchants and gentry such as Neill Campbell and Cornelius Thomas. Despite the relative isolation of Amherst, planters and merchants kept abreast of European developments in fields other than politics.

The available evidence of inventories, invoices and advertisements indicates that few Amherst planters could claim wide familiarity with European history, philosophy, science, and literature. Works on history included such esoteric subjects as a two-volume set, The Conquest of Mexico. Catherine Macaulay's Whiggish critique of English society was a standard reference volume of history. Smollett's twelve-volume History of England was also very popular. The young Patrick Rose was so distressed upon losing his two volumes of Smollett, that he advertised for their return some two years after their disappearance.²⁷

Works on geography included Martin's Universal Gazetteer, and in a lighter vein, New Amusements of the German Spa and The London and Country Browser. Treatises on government were represented by a

four-volume study, Justices of the Peace. Bacon's Abridgement of the [English] Laws, and the latest editions of Virginia laws. Various works on philosophy owned in Amherst were Adams' Reply to Hume, Remarks on the Writing of Rousseau, and Voltaire on Toleration. Serious literature included the work of Milton, Goldsmith, Tobias Smollett, Fielding, Defoe, Rabelais, and Cervantes. Various Latin dictionaries and stories attested to the influence of the classical curriculum. Some English periodicals, such as The Gentleman's Magazine and The Spectator, were also found in Amherst libraries.²⁸

The decline of the Anglican church can be witnessed in the paucity of religious works owned by the gentry. Other than the Bible, the records indicate only the presence of a few tracts such as Allaine's Alarms to Unconverted Sinners and Stern's Sermons. Far more popular were adventure stories, thinly disguised as ethical tales. Some examples of this genre in Amherst were the two-volume Devils on Crutches, Cryfall, or Adventures of a Guinea, and Letters Wrote by a Turkish Spy who lived five and forty years Undiscovered (Paris, three volumes).²⁹ Science and medicine were well represented in the collection of Dr. William Cabell. The old doctor's scientific studies contained a biography of Sir Issac Newton, the works of Euclid and Boyle, Priestley's History of Electricity, and work on chemistry. Due to the dearth of competent physicians in Amherst, Cabell felt obligated to maintain an up-to-date and extensive medical library. His books ranged from general work such as Observations on the Duties of a Physician, London Medical Essays, and The Practice of Physick to specialized manuals such as Nanning on Diseases of Pregnant Women, Harris' Treatise on Acute Diseases of Infants, and Douglas on Muscles.³⁰

Dr. Cabell's medical prowess also inspired the only creative writing surviving from colonial Amherst. The following whimsical poem was composed by the parish minister in 1763 as he dispatched a servant for treatment:

"Dear Doctor I've sent you poor Jock
With a boil (?) full of evil;
So hard to be cured

As 't if possessed by a devil -
Pray take him and cure him
By proper directions
And I'll answer your bill,
Without any objections.
So no more at present
(The phrase of right stamp)
From your most humble Servant,
Ichabod Camp³¹

Little gentry literature was indigenous to colonial Virginia, and even that could hardly be characterized as profound, eloquent, or well structured. History, political criticism, satire, religious tracts, legal studies, and and grandiloquent poetry were the only established genres. The eastern counties set the tone for all such writings and it is unlikely that Amherst residents contributed anything other than theology and newspaper doggerel. The absentee Amherst proprietor Robert Bolling did try his hand at political commentary. Bolling was stirred to literary indignation when his fellow Amherst landowner John Chiswell received privileged treatment as an indicted assassin.³²

Ironically, British literary models and standards of political discourse remained entrenched in the intellectual life of Amherst even as these colonials moved to challenge the hegemony of the metropole. British Enlightenment and Whig thought; muted or disguised in the home islands, stirred Americans to political action and imbued them with a strong revolutionary purpose. The difference in locale transformed classical schooling into training for political independence. In a broad sense, the Revolution can be explained as the process of changing philosophical emulation into political negation. These intellectual concerns were given direction and cogency by perceived threats to gentry material interests.

SOURCES OF GENTRY POWER; ESTATES AND COMMODITIES

Growing cultural sophistication, religious diversity, and political antipathy against the motherland paralleled rising economic expectations and hostility towards British commercial policies.

Each of these patterns congruently reinforced the other developments. For all of the gentry, educational and cultural exposure were most highly valued when seen as the necessary preparation for competent estate management. The gentry recognized the imperative of organizing their property and goods as professional business ventures.³³ The Amherst planters acquired the knowledge and skills of management through apprenticeships with their fathers, the employment of skilled overseers, and occasionally through reference manuals. Some of the self-help titles included Rural Economy, System of Agriculture, [Jethro] Tull's Husbandry (published in 1768), Museum Rusticum, and Dictionarium Domesticum. Merchants and planters alike relied on bookkeeping tomes such as Italian Book Keeping and Gordon's Universal & Complete Merchant³⁴

By 1770 land speculation had tapered off and most of the arable land was under steady cultivation. The late colonial period represented the flush days of the Piedmont planter. Although tobacco was the mainstay of the Amherst economy and the pre-eminent concern of the planter class, it may be instructive to first examine the secondary crops and produce grown by grandees and poor farmers alike. Corn had been the primary staple of Amherst during initial settlement. The Amherst planting season usually began in March and corn was sown in April. In a typical year, such as 1761, corn might bring as much as ten shillings per barrel. No significant amount of Amherst corn was exported before the Revolution. Corn was either locally consumed as a basic foodstuff or fed to livestock.³⁵

Wheat, oats, barley, and other grains were other early staples of the county and were in cultivation before 1742. In the years immediately prior to the Revolution, wheat had become valued as a more versatile provision than corn. The number of grist mills cited in the last chapter attest to the ubiquity of wheat in Amherst. On the other side of the ledger, wheat proved more difficult to cultivate and less immediately profitable than corn. Spring wheat was planted in late March or early April and was stacked by the end of July. Winter wheat was sown in September and October, and cut by July. Wheat was usually harvested with a sickle. After the grain

was gathered, it was placed in racks, beaten out, and cleaned with a wheat fan. Wheat prices were particularly high in the 1770s. Various English communities suffered from crop failures at this time and placed bounties on colonial wheat. The red soil of Amherst was believed to be especially fertile for clover and wheat, but weevils and inadequate fertilizers often reduced yields considerably. Some 220 pounds of flour constituted one barrel of wheat. Planter generally used one slave for every fifteen to twenty barrels of wheat produced. The quality of wheat, like tobacco, was regulated by inspection stations established by the House of Burgesses.

Oats were sowed in early spring. The clover planting season lasted from April to June, while hay and buckwheat were planted in July. The planting of clover, timothy, and colewort was viewed as a progressive method of replenishing exhausted soil. The pulling of fodder commenced in the middle of September. Barley and rye were cultivated from the end of October. Gardens and orchards provided a large variety of fruits and vegetables for Amherst farmers. Garden plots generally yielded English peas, Irish and sweet potatoes, summer, winter, and Dutch turnips, cabbage, and collards. Orchards included quince and cherry trees. Apples and peaches were eaten raw by swine and man alike, or fermented for cider and brandy. Orchards were highly prized throughout the county and overseers were often required to plant apple and peach trees every year as part of their contract.

Hemp was sown in April and May and pulled in August. The processing of hemp required a fairly complicated procedure. After breaking hemp was scutched and hackled. Scutching removed hard and wood after the fibers had broken. A two-edged wooden blade and a notched board completed the process. While the hemp hung from the board, it was struck with a scutching knife to even and straighten fibers. Heckling separated the fibers into filaments and then standardized the filaments. The hecle was a board resembling a wool card with small upright spikes. The short fibers were removed, carded, and used as oakum to fill the seams of ships.³⁶

Hemp was the source of homespun and the poor man's linens. After 1765 hemp became the favored material for the shirts, jackets, and trousers of slaves. The fibers were woven into slave

garments known as osanburgs. Before 1770 Amherst exported some hemp to England, but the county's fiber industry was always dwarfed by the Valley operations. The gentry patriotically resorted to hemp instead of imported linen after passage of the Towshend Acts. After various non-importation agreements were ratified, some planters encouraged the planting of cotton and flax, but neither enjoyed the success of hemp. Cotton was sown the end of April, but suffered in Amherst from an imbalance of moisture and heat necessary for the fiber. The cumbersome colonial process of reaping cotton also discouraged Amherst planters. Most cotton was imported from warmer climes. Affluent families spun the treads on spinning wheels to fabricate better quality clothing than available from hemp. Flax was sown in March and April, pulled in early summer, and left to rot in the early fall.

Few colonial crops required the degree of tools specialization necessary for hemp and cotton. Heavy and awkward hand-made tools predominated. Most planters owned hoes, maddocks, picks, and spades. Since the function of hoes would vary, there were weeding, grubbing, and tilling hoes. Some planters also used sickles, augurs, grindstones, narrow axes, chisels, gauges, whipsaws, handsaws, and cross-cut saws. Plows began to replace hoes at the very end of this period. Yet, even a planter as prosperous as Burgess Cornelius Thomas owned only three. Good wagons were much in demand to transport materials across the length of estates and were indispensable for emigration.³⁷

Horses were the most frequently used draught animals and were also essential for personal transportation. As race horses, the animals could be as valuable as a good slave. A healthy work horse might sell for anything between £10 and £25. The really valuable work animal was the black mule which commanded six times and more the asking price of a plow horse. Not even Burgess Thomas owned one of these at his death, even though he possessed 114 horses and thirty slaves. Cows, steers, sheep, pigs, bulls, and geese comprised the remaining livestock herds. The colonial difficulty in obtaining preservatives is illustrated in the comparative price of salt and beef. One pound of beef might go for as little as one pence, while four shillings, nine pence was not unusual for a bushel of

salt.³⁸

For most Amherst farmers with sufficient capital, all of the aforementioned crops merely supplemented row upon row of tobacco. Though Thomas Jefferson might refer to the Virginia planter's love affair with these leaves as "productive of infinite wretchedness," the Amherst gentry were determined to prosper or perish with the weed. For many of the fourteen years after the county's inception, tobacco farmers prospered. Even in boom times, tobacco cultivation consumed most of the year and the full-time labor of a large work force of slaves. The topographical and structural arrangement of Amherst estates centered on the demands of tobacco culture. One thousand acres was seen as the minimum amount of land needed to produce a good tobacco profit. This acreage could be worked in one of two methods. Some planter preferred to employ one overseer and twenty field hands for every allotment of one thousand acres. Each slave would then be responsible for fifty acres. Alternately, an overseer could superintend ten to fifteen workers on a total of 250 acres for more careful planting. Tobacco terraces would then be grouped together into plantations, or quarter under the direction of a head overseer.

Every third or fourth year, planters substituted corn or wheat to replenish the soil but Amherst tobacco lands increasingly lost their resiliency. With the scarcity of arable land, the primitive state of fertilizer technology, this infertility soon created a severe crisis. Overseers claimed one-tenth of the total corn and tobacco produced. Plantations were also rented for cash or share of tobacco. A good crop of tobacco was expected to yield 1,000 pounds per acre. This weight comprised one small hogshead, but larger casks might hold 1,020 pounds and more.³⁹

Cultured planting followed the first rain in May and was generally concluded by the end of June. Colonel William Cabell, for example, sowed 150,000 plants in two day's time. Stalk cuttings lasted from the middle of August to the end of September. Prizing of tobacco was performed in the last week of October. Striking and stripping lasted until November. Plant patches for the next crop were generally burned in January. Seeds were sown in February and March.

After the tobacco was cut in the field, it was burned carefully until it fell. It was then laid in heaps and cooked until, as the old saw went, a worker could put his hand in it. Then the plant was cooped and laid in a storage house for three to six days, depending on the heat. Subsequently, the tobacco stalks were separated to dry for two weeks. If rain spoiled the crop, it turned an undesirable yellow. If instead it matured into a nutmeg color, the planter knew he had let the tobacco sweat long enough. If all went according to plan, it was now time for the planter to market his brown gold.⁴⁰

Two varieties of tobacco were produced in colonial Virginia, leaf and stemmed, selling from twenty to twenty-two shillings per hundred weight. Piedmont tobacco was generally known as oronoco and was the most highly valued of all the Virginia varieties. Piedmont oronoco was divided into at least two grades, James River and Tayloe's Mountain Quarter tobacco. Oronoco prospered best in light red mountain soils or in the light black deposits of mountain coves.⁴¹ The timetable for storing, processing, and shipping these grades of tobacco usually lasted from the middle of November to the next spring, so that planting cycles invariably overlapped. Once the tobacco had been prepared for export, it was housed by the leading local merchants or planters.

The Cabells and the Roses owned the most extensive storage facilities of the Amherst gentry. They also could provide the most efficient shipping to the initial destinations of Shockoe's and Byrd's warehouses near Richmond. Both warehouses served as inspection stations to maintain the high quality of Virginia tobacco and to reassure English that the exports had not been adulterated. The Richmond warehouses inventoried each planter's goods and prepared the leaf for trans-shipment aboard the vessels of the great British trading concerns. While the Amherst boatmen could navigate the treacherous shoals of the upper James, the English ships were unable to proceed past the barrier of the Richmond fall line. Given the scarcity of sources, it is difficult to determine which transoceanic vessels actually shipped Amherst tobacco, but some records of Amherst cargoes for Bristol and Liverpool have

An Amherst planter could expect to receive as much as £10 per hogshead, but he had to deduct handling charges from that amount.

These tobacco taxes, in colonial terminology, were for freight insurance, primage, portage, wharfage, lighterage, storage, and port duties. These charges covered expenses for processing the hogsheads, for freight costs, and for customs. These handling costs could total as much as 25s.12d. Rarely did the Amherst planter receive a direct cash outlay for his goods. Partly this was a result of tight currency edicts in England concerning colonial cash flow. But British merchants also preferred credit transactions. As a result, goods changed hands by barter or by media of exchange such as hemp notes, tobacco certificates or bills of exchange.

Bills of exchange were the preferred method in transoceanic transactions, while the others predominated in local commerce. A bill of exchange acquired value relative to the Amherst planter's credit, assets, and the worth of goods shipped. The customary contract between planters and merchants was the consignment system. Chartered ships collected goods deposited at various wharves and sold the enumerated commodities at a commission. The proceeds of any tobacco sale were then credited to the planter's account in Great Britain. Whatever imports the planter decided to purchase would return via the factors, or local representatives in Virginia, of the British mercantile houses. Each year, the planter's assets in Great Britain were determined by subtracting the value of finished good imports from tobacco exports. Loans in excess of net income were frequently extended by merchants. The beneficiaries of these loans were planters who regularly provided large tobacco shipments to their English agents or were gentry whose estates commanded a high evaluation for purposes of collateral. If a planter were particularly influential in local affairs, he might also obtain a loan.⁴³

The success of a tobacco plantation in Amherst depended largely on the fate of harvests. Paradoxically, even a bumper crop might be the undoing of a planter. Prices could plunge disastrously from a glutted market. Throughout the late colonial period, Amherst planters were on a roller coaster of tobacco price fluctuation. Prices were generally good in 1761-1762, but declined from 1763-1765. Prices rose again through 1772, although Amherst harvests were a bit sluggish. Water carriage costs dropped after 1770, but were more than offset in Amherst by calamitous

flood of May 1771. The torrential assault destroyed Amherst tobacco in the fields as well as on wharves in Richmond. Almost every Amherst planter was badly hurt by financial losses from the spoiled crop. The absentee merchant Walter King suffered an outright loss of twenty hogsheads and forfeited another thirteen when "The Planter" capsized in turbulent water. Most Amherst planters and merchants received some compensation, but politics may have been at work in the claims settlements. The Amherst petition of Moses Swinney suggests some clever account juggling by the authorities. Prices rose again in 1772, removing some of the flood's sting. Amherst's harvest peaked in 1773 and prices reached their zenith in 1774. Unfortunately, the political crisis of the following years nipped any boom in the bud.⁴⁴

Even in the best of times, most planters walked a thin line between trade surpluses and import deficits. During the early 1760s, Amherst planters were less ambitious in their orders from England and remained solvent. Debts to merchants were paid in kind or by merchants assigning local agents to collect debts. As Amherst became more affluent and worldly, planter debts became a serious issue. The liberal loan policies of English merchants and the scarcity of colonial specie aggravated this problem. Unfavorable trends in the colonial balance of payments, coupled with a snarl in British credit, produced a grave commercial crisis. Debt collection cases flooded the Amherst court. In protecting their legitimate interests, merchants were forced to intervene in local politics and land management policies, both the traditional preserve of the gentry. Often against their will, factors found themselves embroiled in constant litigation, supervising mortgages, and even resorting to foreclosures against defaulting farmers.

The gentry obviously resented this interference and financial pressure. In defense of their prerogative, the planters resorted to various stratagems to frustrate the merchants's claims and to clear the legal logjam. Robert Donald wrote in February 1773 that "the Patriotic Magistrates of Amherst County, have resolved not to do business but twice in the year, until the inhabitants are clear of debt."⁴⁵ Since merchants transacted much of their business on court days, they were faced with the equally unpalatable choices of

writing off old debts or forfeiting future profits. On the eve of the Revolution, it appeared doubtful that local planter and English mercantile interests could be reconciled to the satisfaction of both.

This conflict snapped the Gordian Knot of the British Empire, for the colonial merchants were truly its sinews. In the absence of a transoceanic Parliament, only they had constituencies in two continents. In the colonies the merchants embodied the metropole. In Britain they served as persistent reminders of the colonial connection. Merchants helped to forge the long-distance links of commerce, communication and civilization. Merchants financed much of the development of Amherst and then exploited its commercial capacity. The fruits of their labor were consumed in the vortex of the American independence movement.

The changing role and reputation of colonial merchants acted as a bellwether of imperial relations. In the early years of commercial development in the Amherst area, a few great London and Bristol merchants dominated the region's economy by remote control. Native colonial merchants on the scene, like Gabriel Penn, formed a frontier market system and bartered commodities among one another. Given the relative isolation of Amherst, local trade continued to be important for the county through the waning days of dependency. The prosperity of neighboring counties informally divided Amherst in three loosely structured economic zones. The entrepôt of New London in Bedford created a satellite marketing community in the western reaches of Amherst. Charlottesville and the James River towns of Albemarle provided similar services for the eastern and southern areas of the county. A thriving interchange of hemp, grains, and livestock through Rockfish Gap bound Augusta with Amherst.

Williamsburg, as economic capital of Virginia, also helped organize the economic life of Amherst and integrated the county into a single colonial market. Merchants and planters from all over Virginia periodically assembled at the weekly markets and the fairs held in April and December. Piedmont and Tidewater merchants gathered in Williamsburg to negotiate trade policies. Acting as a board of trade, they set certain commodity prices, fixed quotas, and concluded agreements with their English brethren. Some Amherst

products also reached more distant colonial communities. Wheat was shipped to Norfolk and Philadelphia, Amherst cattle drovers undoubtedly joined the herds of livestock shipped from the Valley of Virginia to Baltimore and Philadelphia. Some beef and pork exports may have even found their way to the West Indies.⁴⁷

Throughout these sundry local and even continental transactions, the focus of the Amherst tobacco planters remained steadily fixed on the merchants of the British Isles. Nor did the variety of local markets disguise the fact that Bristol and London merchants controlled the economic destiny of the Piedmont when the region emerged from frontier obscurity. The growth of the Piedmont neatly fit the plans of London and Bristol merchants looking for commercial expansion beyond the Tidewater. The leading London tobacco magnates at this time were Micajah Perry and Robert Cary (1730-1777). The House of Perry was particularly instrumental in funding the early emergence of the Piedmont. Tidewater planters like the Randolphs worked very closely with Perry in developing their western estates. Perry also directed the attention of a number of Liverpool and West Country firms to Piedmont opportunities. John Backhouse of Liverpool quickly engrossed much of the business of leading Amherst planters.⁴⁴ Neither Backhouse nor Perry maintained local agents in Amherst, however, and others moved to fill this gap.

Bristol commenced operations in the western Piedmont as early as its London competitors. Lionel Lyde (d. 1745), Joseph Farrell, William Jones (d. 1792) John Harmer, and Walter King were the most noteworthy Bristol entrepreneurs in acquiring real estate and importing Amherst tobacco. At various times, they were also closely associated with Micajah Perry, the Randolphs, the Jeffersons, and the Braxtons. The firms of Harmer and King and Jones and Farrell remained active in the western Piedmont long after overall Bristol trade with Virginia had dropped sharply.⁵⁰

The port with the greatest success in Amherst was Glasgow. By 1770 Scottish merchants and their Virginia factors perhaps engrossed as much Amherst business as Liverpool, London, and Bristol combined. The main advantage the Scots enjoyed was their large numerical presence in the Piedmont. They were able to immediately respond to the needs of Amherst planters and saved

themselves handling costs. Unlike the firms south of Glasgow, the Scottish merchants specialized in Piedmont transactions and never subordinated that region to the Tidewater Virginia economy.⁵¹

Far from disdaining the backwoods of the Piedmont or attempting quick exploitation of its resources, the Scots eagerly transplanted themselves into the area and demonstrated that their commitment was a durable one. This strategy proved to be highly successful and many Scots became substantial planters in their own right. The principal Glasgow outfits conducting business in Amherst were Alexander Speirs, John Bownan & Co.; William Cunningham & Co.; James Buchanan; Ducan, Scot, & Co.; James and Robert Donald; the Hunters; George Kippen & Co.; and Glassford, Ingram & Co.⁵²

The local Scottish merchants more important to the commercial and cultural life of Amherst were Alexander and Peterfield Trent, Charles Irving, Thomas Reid, and Neill Campbell.⁵³ All of these men were initially the factors of single companies, but their success led them into diversification. In the course of their career, Alexander and Peterfield Trent were agents of James and Robert Donald (1759-1764), surviving partners of John Scott & Co., and independent partners from 1764. They pooled efforts with a local planter and became Carter & Trent in 1768. Whatever the incarnation, the Trent stores from Richmond to Bedford prospered and expanded. Charles Irving alternately worked as an independent from Albemarle and in conjunction with Henderson, McCaul, & Col, or George Kippen & Co. Irving also conducted a thriving real estate business dealing in liquidations and foreclosures. He managed to escape the gentry opprobrium usually directed at this kind of business since he was one of the more important importers of finished goods, luxury items, and books for the Amherst planters.⁵⁴ Merchants like Irving brought the good will of planters through generous doses of tact and credit.

Since the mark of a successful planter was conspicuous affluence, Amherst estates were as dependent on imports as on tobacco exports. Not only luxury items were imported, many scarce supplies were available only from England. A representative sampling of sundry imported items can be found in pages four and five of the appendix to this chapter.⁵⁵

The cash and credit accumulated by Amherst planters in their

transactions with Great Britain allowed the gentry to do far more than expand their business operations. Bills of exchange also enabled the planters to entertain in a lavish manner and to construct increasingly spacious and comfortable housing.

The social history of colonial Virginia architecture has yet to be written. If such an account were available, it would shed much light on the history of the Piedmont's material culture and provide much insight into the society and values of Amherst.⁵⁶ Knowledge of local architects or the transmission of architectural principles is minimal. Surviving colonial structures from Amherst are just about our only lead into the area's material culture. Few of these remain standing and dating even remnants is fraught with peril.⁵⁷

Most construction in Amherst was designed and built by owners with assistance from area carpenters, masons, joiners, and other craftsmen.

Only Richard Taliaferro (1705-1779) and Thomas Jefferson, of those Virginians with architectural "training," could have had any direct influence on colonial Amherst architecture. The evidence for Taliaferro's influence is only circumstantial while that for Jefferson is simply propinquity.⁵⁸ Some Amherst residents appear to have been highly skilled amateur architects. Francis West is cited as the builder of Nicholas Cabell's home, Liberty Hall, in 1774. Thomas Lumpkin the contractor, Joseph Tucker, and John Coleman built St. John's Church in 1771-1773. Colonel William Cabell, perhaps as a result of contact with Taliaferro, designed a number of county structures and probably supervised construction of the first county courthouse.⁵⁹

Amherst residences, even the most lavish, were not mansions in the English or Tidewater Virginia sense of the word. There were certainly gradations in scale and elegance among Amherst homes. The subsistence farmers of the county generally constructed rudimentary log cabins and later simple frame, stone, and brick cottages. The most grandiose edifices in the county were the homes of the burgesses and the Rose family. These included Cornelius Thomas's Verdant Vale (no longer standing) and Colonel William Cabell's Union Hill. The Rose residences of Belevat, Rose Isle, Gedoes and Firmont could be described as American manor houses.

They differed from most other Amherst residences in scale, interior detail, craftsmanship, and expense. Thus only the highest tier of the gentry possessed the economic means to produce such manor homes.

The Rose, Cabell, and Thomas residences shared common plans and features. The homes of Burgesses Thomas and Cabell undoubtedly represented the colonial culmination of Amherst architectural theory. However grand these structures appeared in Amherst, they never equalled the scale of Tidewater mansions. Most Amherst residences did not exceed one and one-half stories, while two-story buildings were common among the eastern planters. Union Hill was the closest approximation to Tidewater scale. The latter measured 40 feet by 60 feet, while the Carter Nomini Hall, for example, was 76 feet by 44 feet.⁶⁰

Amherst manor houses also reflected changes and values in architectural style. Union Hill was first begun as a simple cottage in 1735. By 1775 it had been substantially overhauled with larger and more elegant quarters, although the home was not finished until later in the Revolution. The construction history of this manor house spanned the three periods of colonial Georgian architecture in Virginia. These phases were most pronounced in the Tidewater, but some echoes of design undoubtedly affected Amherst. The earliest period reflected the influence of Christopher Wren's Queen Anne style. In less pretentious fashion this design was the typical colonial gentry motif in Virginia. This mode stressed compactness, formality, and privacy in a baroque deployment. The style was legacy of all the original affluent Tidewater emigrants to Amherst.

The mid-Georgian period reflected the design theory of John Ariss and Richard Taliaferro. This was a modified Palladian form; i.e., arches were flanked by lower square-headed openings and separated by columns. This style was particularly favored by the Carter, Randolph, and Braxton families. Carter Braxton's Elsing Green, constructed in 1758, is a good example of this lineament. Since all three families were intimately involved with Amherst, it is likely that their influence helped to popularize Taliaferro's designs in the county.

The third phase was heralded by Thomas Jefferson's work on Monticello, begun in the early 1770s. Jefferson was profoundly

influenced by the Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladia, but he modified the principles of his European preceptor. Jefferson transformed the Palladian rectangular housing bloc into an interconnecting central mass. This change removed the need for great central staircases. The main house and its dependencies were arranged in a line. This style also fully separated the kitchen from the living quarters.

To some extent, the Union Hill manor house blended the styles of three architectural periods. The main building served as the fulcrum of virtually an entire village. Auxiliary structures included craftsmen's shops, slave quarters, tobacco house, spinning and weaving sheds, a distillery, kitchens, stables, "cow houses," sewing rooms, a laundry, a dairy, poultry houses, and ice houses. The manor house itself was frame, composed of oak, pine, walnut, and poplar. Underpinnings, walls and chimneys were made of brick. The first floor consisted of the great hall, parlor, and the library. Bedrooms and children's quarters were upstairs. In all, there were eight main rooms with twelve-foot ceilings.⁶¹

The typical Anglo-American colonial house was symmetrical and characterized by simple weatherboarding. White oak, cyprus and cedar shingles were customary. Most roofs were fairly steep and rooms faced out to dormer windows. Most gentry brick work in Amherst was done in the form of Flemish bond; that is headers and stretchers of brick alternated in each course. Vertical headers were placed over stretchers to form a bond and present a pleasing and functional cross pattern.

Merchant homes occupied an intermediate level between the finest gentry manors and the simple cottage of subsistence farmers. The merchant-planter Gabriel Penn owned both a home and an ordinary. The two structures differed from the Cabell layout in several ways. Befitting the residence of a merchant and tavern-keepers, Penn's designs stressed familiarity rather than privacy, simplicity rather than elegance. The six-room ordinary measured twenty by sixteen feet, with an equal number of rooms above and below the stairs. Since multiple bed-sharing was common in colonial hostelrys, Penn could pack as many as thirty persons in the ten feather beds. Like Union Hill, Penn's ordinary was the centerpiece of a miniature village. Outbuildings included two

kitchens, two gardens, two "large" stores, two tailor shops, and one blacksmith shop - all manned by craftsmen and slaves. Penn boasted that his establishments reflected the latest in commercial design and that all structures had been built between 1762 and 1771

Information concerning Amherst interiors is even more fragmentary than the architectural record. Penn noted that his inn provided walnut and mahogany tables. Similar furniture was found in Cornelius Thomas's Verdant Vale manor house. The inventory of Thomas's home lists six tables, seventeen chairs, six beds, silver utensils, and Queen Ann china. Like the Christopher Wren influence on gentry architecture, the extent of Queen Anne items in furnishing and plate-ware indicates that the styles of the early eighteenth century persisted in later Georgian motifs.⁶²

The gentry manor homes were also the centers of county social life and the foundries of domestic virtues. The rhythms of Amherst family life were virtually identical to those of the rest of the colony. Gentry values set the norms of home and hearth just as they established social, intellectual, and commercial standards throughout Virginia. Domestic reference works embodied this standardization of values and precepts. Books on family life found in Amherst libraries included Glass's Art of Cookery, Snellie's Theory and Practice of Midwifery, The Exemplary Mother, and The Family Instructor. The Amherst gentry needed little instruction on the role of a proper host. Extravagant hospitality was integral to the social status of a man of means. Most of the gentry enjoyed entertaining large numbers of guests for extended visits. Even the less gregarious planter accepted the fact that such gracious behavior was expected their class.

Entertaining was both expensive and time-consuming. Sports, gaming and even eating were elevated to art forms. The mark of a good host was his skillful combination of all three types of activity. After a sumptuous dinner at two or three in the afternoon, the gentlemen might retire to the planter's study to play cards and games, occasionally mixing business with pleasure. The women would engage in husking and quilting bees or other "lady-like" forms of responsible amusements.

Even the most expansive manor home could not encompass certain

leisure activities. County-wide celebration were observed at elections, court sessions, and on the holidays of St. Andrew's and St. George's, the English national day. No special occasion was required for fish feasts, cock fighting, and horse-racing. Large contingents of Amherst gentry might attend musical concerts at Fredericksburg or fairs, plays and equestrian shows in Williamsburg. Williamsburg was the center of a number of regional sporting events. In 1773, for example, the upland and lowland gentry placed the honor of their respective communities on the line in a cock fighting marathon.⁶³

Amherst manor homes nourished the fine arts along with the frivolous ones. Artistic ideals and musical cadences provided an essential complement to other expressions of colonial culture. Colonial patronage of painting was provided almost exclusively by the gentry. As a result, most painting was portraiture. That genre was best able to reflect the class status and sense of social responsibility upheld by the gentry. Colonial portraiture also revealed the gentry's search for a respectability equal to that of English aristocrats. The most popular style depicted high bourgeois life with strong overtones of rococo aristocratic pretension. John Wollaston, John Hesselius, and their assorted disciples were the most popular artists in late Georgian America because of their faithful adherence to these artistic norms. It is likely, however, that more obscure painters traveled through the Piedmont.⁶⁴

High quality music was more evenly distributed throughout Virginia. Music affected a great number of households in Amherst untouched by formal art. Virtually all of the gentry were either skilled in minstrelry or enjoyed instrumental music in church, ballroom dancing, or in folk ballads. Common instruments were flutes, violins, and harpsichords. The fiddle was perhaps the most widespread of all. Blacks and whites of all stations made fiddle music the key to any popular rendition. The quality of the fiddle, though not the expertise of the fiddler, often differentiated social classes in Amherst. The gentry sometimes commissioned craftsmen to construct highly expensive and exquisite fiddles. Burgess Cornelius Thomas owned three different fiddles to suit his various musical inclinations.

The most popular composers in colonial Virginia appear to have

been Handel, Corelli, and Vivaldi. Some families were able to hire music teachers to instruct their children in this necessary social grace. There is substantial evidence that a number of German music masters played and trained students throughout the Piedmont.

Throughout the colonial period, gentry musical tastes had been more consciously equalitarian and Whiggish than their appetites in art. Music in Virginia became increasingly susceptible to political currents as the crisis with England worsened. John Dickinson's "Liberty Song" of 1768 swept through all of the colonies, strongly affecting Amherst as elsewhere.⁶⁵ The "Liberty Song" embodied the conjunction of intellectual stimuli, economic self-interest, and gentry self-image with political hostility to Great Britain. In combining this sentimentalism with an interpretation of Anglo-Saxon history as the struggle for liberty, the "Liberty Song" foreshadowed the ideology of the Revolution.

STRADDLING AMHERST AND THE EMPIRE: A TALE OF THREE MERCHANTS

Firm beliefs in gentry autonomy and equally deep-rooted ties with Great Britain led Amherst society to a political and cultural crossroads. The decision for empire or independence was difficult for all concerned. In no sector of the population was this choice more excruciating than among merchants. The logic of their position demanded that they equally represent colonial planters and English capital, even if the two were at loggerheads. Some merchants moved decisively to support one interest or the other while the rest vacillated to the end. This conflicting tug of loyalties made colonial merchants the first victims of imperial strain and among the first harbingers of the Revolution. The differing choices of two Amherst mercantile firms illustrate the tortuous path navigated by a host of hapless merchants. The stores of Neill Campbell and the Bristol firm of Harmer & King mark the course of colonial American history from imperial synthesis to imperial schism.

Walter Kings' family was involved in Virginia as early as 1723. In that year, a relative, also named Walter King, is mentioned as a founder of an iron works in King George County. In 1732, the younger Walter King arrived

in Virginia from Bristol and was followed by John Harmer, also of Bristol, the subsequent year. The two soon formed a mercantile partnership in Williamsburg and embarked on an ambitious project of frontier development. In alliance with leading planters, the firm of Harmer and King had purchased title to thousands of acres in modern Amherst, Fluvanna, Buckingham, and Henry counties by 1740.⁶⁶

In partnership with Lunsford Lomax, Peter Jefferson and the Randolphs, Harmer and King acquired more than 15,000 acres alone in Amherst along the Tye and Rockfish rivers by 1738. Utilizing good British connections, they began to import English (and possibly German) families and African slaves into the area as early as 1739. While King devoted himself exclusively to a lucrative trade in goods, land, and chattels, Harmer attended to political concerns by serving as mayor of Williamsburg and as a burgess in the early 1740s. When King and Harmer temporarily left for England in 1743, they left behind a thriving business operation that covered the breadth of Virginia. A prosperous estate in Amherst was one of the linchpins.⁶⁷

For the next twenty years, Harmer's and King's investments continued to flourish. This overall picture of serenity was marred by King's nasty and drawn out litigation with the Carter Braxton family over title to the four-thousand-acre Point of Fork lands in Albemarle, later Fluvanna. King eventually won his court fight, but incurred the lasting enmity of the Braxtons.⁶⁸ Suffering from gout and drained by his far flung ventures, Harmer left for his plush residence at Pen Park near Bristol by 1750. King was likewise afflicted by nephritis and gout, and he returned in 1752 to his Naish Hall estate in Waxhall Parish, north Somerset.

Although neither man ever set foot again in Virginia, the firm of Harmer & King employed a number of middle men to manage their Amherst affairs. The Bristol company of Jones & Farrell marketed the former's tobacco until the Revolution. John Lidderdale, a Williamsburg merchant, helped to superintend the scattered demesnes while Benjamin Waller attended to legal matters. Harmer and King themselves continued to ship slaves and to urge settlement on their Amherst properties.⁶⁹

The Amherst territories of the Bristol merchants appear to have

been known collectively as Nassau, indicating the presence of German emigrants from Nassau-Siegen. Several Germans from this area are recorded in the early Albemarle and Amherst deed books, but little is known of their activities. The Germans were employed by Harmer and King as craftsmen, indentured servants, and as small tenant farmers. Managerial positions in Nassau were dominated by the Key family. The first mention of this family in Albemarle dates from 1732, when John Key patented land on the north side of the Rivanna.

By 1741 John Key owned more than six hundred acres and had extended his property to Key's Mill Swamp in old Amherst. Before 1750, John Key owned an extensive tract in the vicinity of Corbin Creek, Davis Creek, Lackey's Mountain, and Fenley's Gap. John's two brothers arrived in Amherst area shortly after his own immigration. Martin Key is mentioned in Albemarle by 1743 and Henry Key quickly followed. All three owned property adjacent to Nassau along the Tye and Rockfish rivers, and at Fenley' Gap. Martin Key, Sr., entered the service of Harmer & King in 1746 and the family effectively managed the Bristol firm's estates through the 1740s and 1750s.⁷⁰

The earliest records indicate that Nassau fulfilled the expectations of its Englishlandlords and returned a steady profit. By 1757 John Harmer was working twenty-two slaves and indentured servants on his 7,800 acres of Amherst land. In 1758 twenty hogsheads of tobacco were shipped from King's Nassau property to Bristol via Captain David Meriwether's "True Planter."⁷¹ When Amherst was created in 1761, the Nassau Tract extended from Warwick to Gleason's Gap, occupying the heartland of the county and much of the best arable land.

The first county court of Amherst met at Henry Key's home and the first courthouse was constructed in close proximity to the Nassau Tract. King's lands had done so well that Martin Key was able to remove as many as fifty slaves and much livestock from Nassau to the Point of Fork domain before 1754. King and Harmer also tried to cultivate their remote Henry County fief. A number of prominent Amherst families, including the Stovalls, Penns, and Dillards, were enticed to relocate in that southwestern Virginia area. The Bristol firm turned increasingly toward the African slave trade to help

develop all of their grants and supply the employment needs of other planters.⁷² Given the varied sources of their income, Harmer and King were able to finance most of their semi-retirement in England from the profits of their Virginia ventures.

While the Bristol magnates maintained a comfortable if detached, lifestyle based on Amherst windfalls, a Scottish merchant by name of Neill Campbell made his modest entrance into the county's commercial affairs. Little is known definitely of Campbell's early life and family connections. He was apparently that same Neill Campbell who was the son of John Campbell, a supervisor of the excise at Glasgow, Scotland. From 1758 to 1763, the son served as an apprentice factor in Virginia to the Glasgow outfit of Glassford, Ingram & Company. Neil Jamieson of Norfolk was the chief colonial factor of the Glassford operation and Campbell possibly worked as Jamieson's assistant. While learning the ropes, Campbell undoubtedly lived an austere existence. In return for diligent service, Campbell received a yearly salary of £5 with £5 increments each successive year.⁷³ Through the 1760s, Campbell largely promoted his business interests from Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield along the James River fall line, but he also bought land and operated a store in Albemarle.

The Amherst records first mention Campbell when he witnessed a deed in behalf of the merchant Peterfield Trent in 1763. Family ties⁷⁴, commercial relationships, and the burgeoning tobacco market of the county increasingly directed Campbell's attention towards Amherst. Ingram & Glassford collaborated with George Kippen & Co., to market a great deal of Amherst tobacco, and Neill Campbell represented both concerns in the county. Campbell also forged close ties in Amherst with Charles Irving, factor for the Glasgow outfit of Henderson, McCaul, and Company. To demonstrate his interest in the county, Campbell bought 410 acres on Bear Branch, a southern tributary of the Rockfish, from John Leake in July 1764. In 1767 Campbell further acquired four hundred acres on Long Mountain from John Beazeley of Buckingham.⁷⁵

Amherst's commercial orientation changed radically between 1763 and 1771. This transformation raised menacing portents for

Harmer and King and produced a corresponding boost for Neill Campbell. In rapid succession, the Stamp Act crisis weakened traditional markets, Bristol trade with Virginia dropped sharply, and Scottish factors exploited the vacuum. Continued political strife with Great Britain led to the first, albeit symbolic, non-importation agreement of 1769.

A similar proposal was adopted the following year in Virginia. Signers of the document included Cornelius Thomas, various Cabells, Thomas M. Randolph, and the lawyer John Wayles. The Amherst planters were joined in this undertaking by Alexander McCaul and Neill Campbell, representing Richmond business and Piedmont commerce. For the first time, Amherst tobacco interests constituted a united front against British policies.⁷⁶

By 1769 the Glasgow emigrant was exporting large quantities of tobacco for the Cabell, Howard, and Rose families to Byrd's Warehouse in Richmond. The year 1771 was truly a watershed for Amherst commerce. The disastrous flood of the spring, coupled with planter estrangement from their Bristol Liverpool, and London factors, led to a profound reassessment of Amherst's commercial ties. Colonel William Cabell led this disaffection by terminating his contract with John Backhouse of Liverpool in July 1771. Cabell and many other Amherst planters turned to Charles Irving and Neill Campbell instead.⁷⁷

Harmer and Kings' Amherst business was not immediately affected by these developments. In the short run, the Nassau ledgers continued to register sizable gains. Between 1769 and 1772, Walter King's investments returned him a net £1,670, with every year yielding profit except for the flood losses of 1771. The bulk of this income derived from the sale of tobacco. Store goods and foodstuffs comprised perhaps a third of the total. By 1773, Walter King could boast of at least nine well-organized plantations. His Amherst properties, including Nassau (6,633 acres), Hat Creek (884), the "Dutch settlement" (800) and "The Mill," totaled more than 8,376 acres.⁷⁸

At this critical time of estate management, however, King lost the services of two of the Key brothers. While King's investments blossomed, Henry Key was slowly drowned by debt. Even an ordinary licensed in 1768 was unable to keep Henry Key afloat. In 1773 Henry

conceded defeat and decided to make a fresh start elsewhere. Charles Irving and Neill Campbell were appointed receivers of his 2,180 acres in Amherst and Albemarle while Henry searched for the American dream in South Carolina. His brother, John Key, the first of his family in Amherst, died in 1774.⁷⁹

King was forced to recruit a new generation of intermediate managers who shared neither the commitment, the personal contact, nor satisfactions that characterized their predecessors. John Key, Jr., was appointed overseer of the Hat Creek quarter, while Martin Key, Jr. managed Nassau and Joshua Bush directed the Mill quarter.⁸⁰ This younger generation reflected none of the earlier passion of making the idea of Nassau incarnate in the wilderness. The new farm bosses had their own dreams and ambitions; goals that were not very compatible with the interests of two aging merchants far removed from the county. Harmer and King were at best remote abstractions and at worst liabilities for these new overseers. More pressing for these farm bosses were the problems of grappling with a changing political climate. Whatever their loyalties, these new overseers had no desire to risk their necks for a Bristol concern. For the younger Keys and Bushes, the issue was not only how to avoid being trampled in a revolutionary stampede. Like the planters, they hoped to profit from the situation.

Had overt hostilities not broken out, it is conceivable that Nassau would have continued to prosper for Harmer and King. From 1773 to 1775 King's Virginia estates produced 293 hogsheads of tobacco and commanded a net income of £5,185. The purchase of fourteen additional slaves in this period helped account for the increased volume. But panic was an even more important cause. King hoped to milk his properties for all they were worth as prospects for future gains dimmed. By the summer of 1775, Walter King's Virginia estates were worth £31,000. They were manned by at least 68 slaves and stocked with herds of animals.

From 1769 to 1775, King had sold 654 hogsheads of tobacco valued at almost £11,000. His store goods for that six-year period were worth £1,737.18.1. By 1775 King estimated that he received an average annual income of £800 from his Virginia domains.

Although similar evidence for John Harmer is lacking, he presumably also fared well. His 7,080 acres, located at Nassau and...

(The editor notes at this point that he does not have the rest of the manuscript)

CHAPTER VIII

1776

The holiday revels of the season screeched to an abrupt halt as the new year ushered in court day. From Lynch's Ferry to the Rockfish and from the Blue Ridge to the James, litigants, miscreants, merchants, gossips, voters, and the plain curious streamed into Amherst Court House for their monthly convocation. Presiding Justice James Dillard joined his colleagues Alexander Reid, Jr., David Crawford, and Roderick McCulloch in the courtroom to attend to the four items on the docket. The surveyor's report was quickly approved. The four agreed that a new road should be surveyed from Tobacco Row Mountain to Harris' Creek Road near William Harris's old plantation. The other three matters were not to be disposed of so agreeably. First, the apprentice John Newman presented convincing evidence that his adopted father should be reprimanded for negligence. The justices ordered that the said Johnson Been be summoned to appear at the next court "to show why he does not Cloath and Educate his Son." The apprentice Jeremiah Walker made a similar complaint and his master, George Blain, was likewise summoned to the next court. A third case in domestic relations found fault with the servant rather than the master. Perennial malcontent Ann Lafsam had been hauled in to court by John Depriest after an unauthorized ten-day spree of freedom. The justices soberly admonished her for not observing her labor contract and sentenced her to twenty additional days of service to be completed following the expiration of the contract. Having re-established their vision of social order in the cases considered, the justices adjourned the session.¹

Any observer watching the time-honored procedures of the court would have had difficulty distinguishing this ritual from those of 1756 or 1766. But business as usual was far from the case in colonial America on New Year's Day, 1776. Even the remote heartland of Piedmont Virginia was experiencing irrevocable political change. On the very day of Ann Lafsam's chastisement, a new vision of social order was being forged on the battlefields of

Boston, Quebec, and Norfolk. Amherst citizens were present at all three. Williamsburg provided the political focus for the new aspirations of Amherst. Old commercial ties were being redirected from the commercial centers of Glasgow, London, and Bristol with disastrous consequences for those Englishmen owing property and stores in Amherst. The emerging political freedom, new concepts of social relations, and economic relocation were to have sweeping impact on various facets of Amherst culture.

January 1 witnessed the destruction of Norfolk by the Second Virginia Regiment under Colonel William Woodford, and that unit's repulse of former Governor Dunmore from the shores of the Tidewater. Captain Nicholas Cabell's unit of Amherst militia was one of the companies on call.² During December 1775, Virginia had authorized another six regiments (bringing the quota to eight in all) that were being staffed by Amherst men as the new year arrived. Through the Valley and the Piedmont additional rifle companies had been formed to aid the Continental army in the North. Most of these remained with General Washington in the siege of Boston, but some (including that commanded by John Brown of Amherst), joined Daniel Morgan in his quixotic attack on Quebec. This campaign ended in disaster on New Year's Day after Morgan was captured.

Amherst's military effort was directed by the county Committee of Safety which also exercised de facto political authority. This was no usurpation of the justices' power, however, since the two groups overlapped. Colonel William Cabell headed the county committee. Other members included Ambrose Rucker, Zachariah Taliaferro, Alexander Reid, David Crawford, Colonel James Nevil, Daniel Gaines, Colonel John Rose (1735-1803), Colonel Hugh Rose (17__ - 1795), Colonel Charles Rose (1747-1802), James Dillard Sr., William Horseley (1745-1791), John Dawson, John Digges, Benjamin Rucker, Colonel Joseph Cabell, Gabriel Penn (1741-1798), Lucas Powell, Dr. James Hopkins, David Shepherd, and Francis Meriwether. William Cabell, John Rose, and Hugh Rose were the county representatives in the Buckingham district (composed of Amherst, Albemarle, Augusta, and Buckingham).³

While local officials remained the same in Amherst, the new year brought Old Amherst to the peak of its statewide political

influence. The Virginia Convention (December 1775-January 20, 1776) elected Colonel William Cabell to the Committee of Safety, the interim executive for Virginia. Twelve men were elected to this body and Cabell finished eighth in the voting. Significantly, Cabell was the only Piedmont representative. On the first day of January, the committee formed an ordinance agency to supply military equipment for Virginia's war effort.

Even before the Revolution, the social structure of Amherst was loosening up due to the increase in population. In Virginia as a whole in 1776, the population had reached 300,000 of which more than a quarter was black. In Amherst, the total population numbers 8,046 of which 15.5 percent were white males above the age of sixteen, 34 percent black, 31 percent white females and 19.5 percent white male children.⁴ The number of tithables had reached 2,554⁵ which was a 120 percent increase since the founding of the county. The population was still widely distributed, with occasional village clusters at the most prosperous plantations. Scottsville remained the most important entrepot, while Lynch's Ferry handled the commerce of the western region of the county. Towns in the county were virtually non-existent. No inspection station had been set up on the James west of Richmond. The onset of the Revolution resulted in the still-birth of the town of Bethel. In February 1775, Nicholas and Henry Landon Davies laid out a planned community of the Fluvanna "near the upper end of navigation of small craft". The scheme was to develop the site as a wheat market and then expand it into a beef and hog market.⁶ At least 28 lots were offered⁷ and the first settlers would receive free timber as an inducement. Blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, cutlers, cabinetmakers, wheelwrights, miners of tin, lead and copper, wool liners, rope walks, and brewers were solicited.⁸ In October 1776, a legislative petition requested a ferry from the Davies land to Henry Trent's land, but no action seems to have been taken.⁹ The economic contraction of the Revolution quickly doomed Bethel.

The burgeoning population had a decisive impact on religious practices. There were Clifford, Rucker's Run (Harris Creek), and Rockfish (near the trail to Rockfish Gap). Rockfish was increasingly dominated by Presbyterians. The other churches were losing

vitality. Charles Clay of St. Anne's Parish preached at Key's and Ichabod Camp was the Amherst parish minister. None of the churches had full-time ministers. The Presbyterians offered the best regional education facilities in Liberty Hall academy of Rockbridge and Hampden-Sydney College of Prince Edward. Private education suffered both as a result of the war draining off schoolmasters (such as William Fontaine, the tutor at Union Hill who commanded a militia company) and the growing anti-intellectual revivalism of the Baptists and Methodists. Identification in the popular mind of Anglicans with Tories abetted the growth of the Baptists and Methodists. The first state-wide Methodist revival occurred in 1776.

The rise of revolutionary agitation increased the importance of the Virginia Gazette of Williamsburg. Colonial newspapers helped to forge a regional unity and kept their readers relatively well informed concerning the war. Purdie & Dixon maintained a bookstore, which helped fill the information gap left by the breach with England. Musical instruments and sheet music were also provided. The Gazette brought culture from the other colonies to Amherst. Yankee Doodle and the patriotic music of the New Englander Billings were disseminated to the home folk through its pages. One of the most popular Revolutionary songs in Amherst was John Dickinson's Liberty Song (written in Pennsylvania in 1768). Besides providing a popular - and moderate- ideology, the song helped to unite the disparate elements of the colonies through its message: "By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall...All ages shall speak with amaze and applause Of the courage we'll show in support of our Laws."¹⁰

Yet, for the first half of 1776, the war was compartmentalized by states. A new muster went into effect in January to give shape to the eight state regiments already in the field. Amherst was ordered to raise one company of riflemen, consisting for four officers and seventy-four privates and non-commissioned officers¹¹ to serve as light infantry. Colonel William Cabell, by virtue of his position on the Committee of Safety, authorized his eldest son, Samuel Jordan Cabell, then a student at William and Mary College, to organize the new unit. The young Cabell returned to Amherst and quickly

organized the company. Among the men recruited was Mathew Snooks, a talented musician who served as an apprentice for Gabriel Penn. In return for compensating Penn twenty pounds, Cabell acquired a fifer.¹²

The company rendezvoused at Key's Church and departed March 12. The Amherst group arrived in Williamsburg on the twenty-fourth. The Amherst men were assigned to the Sixth Virginia Regiment under Colonel Mordecai Buckner. Each carried a rifle, tomahawk, and long knife, and received twenty shillings if personally supplied. Shirts cost 12 shillings 6 pence and varied according to rank.¹³ Hats were cut round and bound with thick brims two inches deep. These were worn cocked to one side. A cockade was worn on the left.

The Sixth Regiment was not immediately called into action and spent much of its time drilling. Captain Cabell was able to provide his men with thirty gallons of whiskey to help pass the time. Some Amherst residents served in the newly organized regiments, but there was no organized muster for the other units. The Sixth Virginia Regiment contained the campaigns of all Amherst units.¹⁵ In addition to the infantry, five troops of Virginia cavalry were organized under the command of Theodoric Bland.¹⁶

Some Amherst residents continued to be active militarily during this relatively slack period. Lord Dunmore continued to provide the main threat. On January 21, the British were repulsed in a skirmish, but in February Dunmore occupied Portsmouth under the cover of his naval support. A Tory uprising in North Carolina was decisively crushed at Moore's Bridge. Virginia was included in the Southern Military District created at the same time and Continental officers began to staff it in March. Colonel Woodford continued to exercise overall command of the state troops, although William Byrd III had been offered the position and declined it. A spate of rumors ran through the colonies in the winter months that Lord Amherst would arrive in America to command the British troops. Amherst County's namesake declined King George's offer since he opposed the colonial policy.¹⁷ The military fortunes of the colonies brightened at the end of the season when the British evacuated Boston on March 7.

As plans for reconciliation with Britain began to fade, colonial

politics heated up. Colonel William Cabell assumed his office on the Committee of Safety on January 18. His primary administrative task was to help a group under Petyon Randolph draft a new government for the de facto state. On the eighth, Joseph Cabell was appointed commissioner for frontier war claimants in Pittsylvania, Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle, and Bedford. The task was completed in March with Cabell distributing over 33,000 pounds.¹⁸ Colonel William Cabell's diary provides the most copious information for the relationship of Amherst to the Revolution throughout 1776. During this time, the colonel spent as much time out of Amherst as he did looking after his estates. By February he computed that he had been absent from the county 200 of the previous 316 days.¹⁹ Upon arriving in Williamsburg, Cabell paid John Pinckney 10 pounds for his subscription to the Virginia Gazette. After six days service with the Committee, he paid William Mitchell for his room and board and returned home with money for the county lieutenant for Amherst's military expenses. Evidently needing diversion from his weighty office, Cabell purchased a hogshead of liquor on the 30th. Another hogshead of rum was purchased for 23 pounds in February from William Pollard, the county jailor.²⁰

Cabell busily tended to his commercial affairs, purchasing supplies from Thomas Montgomery, Charles Irving, and Solomon Hancock and collecting money from some of his debtors. Since the county levy was due in February, Cabell spent much of his time collecting debts and commodities to pay taxes. On February 6 he chaired the court session. In his capacity as representative of the Committee of Safety, Cabell paid Alexander Rose and James Barnett for their recruiting services. On March 2, he bound his own servant Thomas Ray as apprentice to Thomas Miller as a weaver. Miller compensated him to the account of three pounds one shilling. Shortly before returning to the committee, the colonel received ten shillings from William Harris to pay for Pinckney's Gazette. On March 6, Cabell received from Martin Key in full the amount owed the colonel by his father.²¹

The February court session in Amherst reflected the colonial uncertainty far more than had its predecessor. Particularly interesting is how the February meeting underscores the ambiguous

impact of revolutionary ferment on slavery. Traditional policy was reinforced when Fanny, the property of Captain Nicholas Cabell, was seized in Williamsburg in January and returned to Amherst. Likewise, William Pollard received almost eight shillings for lodging the slave criminal Caesar for five days. Dunmore's emancipation proclamation and creation of the Royal Ethiopian Regiment of run-aways had stirred as much revulsion among the whites as it had hope among dissatisfied blacks. Following the governor's announcement, patrols were undoubtedly stepped up in the black quarters and disobedience rigidly punished. But even then, men were troubled about the contradiction between fighting for their own rights and suppressing those of their human chattel. Daniel Will Jackson brought this dilemma to the fore when he petitioned for his freedom from William Horsley. The records are mute as to whether the petition was granted, but one assumes from its inclusion in the official records that Jackson was able to celebrate a personal declaration of independence.²²

The other example of political ambivalence was the matter of where to deposit the county taxes. Expenses totaled £162.1.8 1/2. The county court still swore allegiance to George III and was legally obligated to forward the king's quitrent. The issue was straddled when the justices announced that a sum of £500 would be placed in escrow with the Virginia convention until the resolution of the colony's dispute with the mother country.²³ The rest of the two-day session dealt with traditional concerns. Two road surveys were ordered: one from John Houchen's at the foot of Tobacco Row Mountain into Harvie's Road, another from James Turner's into the Rockfish Road. The county levy appropriated £74 to clerk Edmund Wilcox for his salary and business expenses. Part of this reimbursed the clerk for books he had bought to maintain various types of records ranging from registers of freed slaves to indices of stray animals.

William Pollard received £2.10 for cleaning the courthouse. Another seven shillings was paid to a printer for "advertising" the new jail. Fifty pounds of tobacco (or 8x.4) were paid for one wolf's head. The sheriff was authorized to collect 1s.2d or 20 pounds of tobacco per poll. Drewry and Matthew Tucker were ordered to do

road work from Park's Road to Rose's Road above Gabriel Penn's estate. David Shepherd and William Johns were to contribute male laboring tithables. Hugh Rose was appointed sheriff as ordered by the Convention. Two destitute orphans, Absolum Reynolds and William Cannon Reynolds, were bound over to the churchwardens. The inventory of the estate of Cornelius Thomas was entered into the records. The justices adjourned their session with diminishing but hopeful expectations that an accommodation with Britian could be reached.²⁴

At least nine real estate transactions ranged from £ 20 paid by William Price to Daniel Burford for 99 acres (on the north branch of Brown's Creek and the south branch of the Enchanted Creek neighboring Price's own land and Josiah Ellis) to £70 (paid by Richard Jones to Jacob Cooley) for 100 acres located on the east side of Rutledge's Creek near Lynch's Road, Henry Gilbert's and James Meneer's property. The largest transaction involved Ichabod Camp's deed to Peter Joyner of Louisa of 205 acres on Rocky Run of Buffalo Creek for £70. Other sellers included John Tennison, Gilbert Bowman, Matthew Tucker, Charles Christian (of Goochland), and Thomas Ballow. Buyers were William Miller, John Stratten, Jesse Kennedy, Elijah Christian, and Nathaniel Woodroof, respectively. Real estate sales occurred also on Parrage Creek, Raven Creek, Buffalo River, and south of the Tye.²⁵

At least one will was probated in this period, that of Benjamin Clark. His executors were Joseph Roberts, William Clark, and a merchant, Charles Erwin. He bequeathed to his Henrico uncle his tobacco assets which were then held by William "Dutch Creek" Martin. Clark also hoped that his cattle would be fruitful so the increase could be "sold and equally divided." Clarkleft no other assets.²⁶ Ordinary citizens as well as the justices looked for continuity as the winter ended. Yet, Amherst was held in legal abeyance the next two months as the destiny of the colonies was being decided. When the justices reassembled in June, an independent Virginia was emerging from the haze of political and military insurrections.

SPRING

The evacuation of Boston had given General Washington a breathing spell and he was able to turn his attention to the south. In May Amherst was given a new quota of fifty men to fill. Captain Nicholas Cabell had drilled four days each in March and April and was called up May 10. Cabell was to combine forces with Penn's company to achieve one full-strength unit.²⁷

The Virginia House of Burgesses made a final futile effort to meet in May and then disbanded. Its members reassembled as the last emergency convention of colonial Virginia. William Cabell and Gabriel Penn were Amherst representatives. The Convention ordered that the estates of active Tories be confiscated, a decision that Walter King and John Harmer greeted with great trepidation even though it did not apply to persons living outside Virginia.²⁸ The decision in Virginia to support independence came with remarkable ease after months of negotiations. Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry joined forces on this issue after deciding that France and England might very well partition the colonies unless Virginia could bargain from the position as a sovereign state.²⁹ A loyalty oath was enacted on May 27, following the decision for independence on the fifteenth. Richard Henry Lee supported a resolution of independence in Philadelphia for all the colonies on June 7. Thomas Jefferson was appointed the only southern representative on a committee to consider the question of independence.

Colonel William Cabell exerted his support for the independence policy in both the Convention and the Committee of Safety. Edmund Pendleton, a moderate, served as chairman of the Committee and exerted the most influence. Cabell reflected the more radical spirit of the Piedmont, which felt fewer ties to England than did the Tidewater because of its interior position. The colonel was also greatly influenced by Patrick Henry who was enormously popular in Amherst. Thomas Jefferson was not as well known, but his pro-independence feelings carried weight with the political thinkers of Amherst. Colonel Cabell took the position as did many others, that separation from England was forced by British tyranny and a necessary

defense of social values dating to the 1730s in Amherst and back to Jamestown for the colony as a whole. From this point of view, it was the English who had changed for the worse rather than colonial society which had been transformed. Thus, the English were seen to be "revolting" while the colonists were sober conservatives. For Cabell, independence was no sudden radicalism but the end of patience after ten years of misrule.

Gradually a majority of Committee members adopted this point of view. Cabell's activities in this agency continued to be both prosaic and momentous. Following his return to Williamsburg, the colonel procured thirty gallons of whiskey and twenty-two smooth bore guns for his son Samuel's company. He hosted a dinner with the Committee for General Charles Lee. Whatever opinions he may have held concerning the acerbic commander, he kept them to himself. On April 6th, the colonel paid Paul Carrington £6 as his subscription of Prince Edward Academy (which became Hampden-Sydney College later that year). A week later, Cabell purchased spectacles for Ptolemy Hansbrough back in Amherst and got a Gazette subscription for Thomas Jopling. One Williamsburg artisan supplied Cabell with a bonnet for his wife, a sword, and a watch. Another mended saddles and chairs. Finally Cabell paid Dr. Gale £L2 for medicine in June.³⁰ Colonel Cabell methodically recorded such domestic and patriotic details without further comment.

William Cabell rarely referred in his diary to his decisions on the Committee. Unfortunately, the only extant journal the group kept covers just the final month of the executive's existence in June. Policy decisions were only recorded as consensus, so we have no way of determining individual input. Cabell participated in the allocation of funds for military supplies, the encouragement of native industry, and administrative and military appointment. Inter-colonial relations consumed much of the Committee's time. Colonel Cabell was particularly concerned in June that a boundary dispute with Pennsylvania might result in civil war unless the Pennsylvanians backed off.³¹ Many members of the Committee were involved in land speculation in the western and northern frontier and Cabell also had some entrepreneurial dealing there. Yet, one of the more remarkable aspects of the records is that Cabell does not

seem to have used his position to make further profits for himself or to show particular favoritism to Amherst friends. Undoubtedly, though, Cabell's efforts helped cushion the war's impact on the Amherst economy and left the county's military establishment on a firmer foundation than those in many other areas.

Cabell also served with silent distinction in the May Convention. On the eighth he was appointed to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances and a week later was selected as part of the group charged with drafting the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which was proclaimed June 12.

A number of other Virginia statesmen, including George Mason, consulted with Cabell on the proposed Virginia constitution. Colonel Cabell undoubtedly was the most influential western Piedmont politician on the Virginia scene in the spring, and his support for Patrick Henry's bid for the governor's office was an important factor in the latter's election. There is no information concerning the activities of Delegate Gabriel Penn except an unsuccessful challenge to unseat him.

County business and the pressures of war mobilization permitted few in Amherst the luxury of analyzing constitutional conflicts or philosophical niceties. Support for the men in the field assumed paramount importance. The cost to Amherst of maintaining troops steadily rose. In early spring, training in Amherst for just three days cost almost £17. In May, Littlebury Coleman received £8 for various jobs performed for the troops. Later in the month a committee of 567 Amherst citizens advanced forty shillings for the payroll of Captain Nicholas Cabell's company. This was just a start of their financial contributions. By the end of spring, 35 men in this company received another £49.³⁵

Often there was less cash on hand than necessary to meet expenses. In these cases, suppliers and soldiers had to settle for credit. In June some £31 had been collected for a wagoner from Richmond and a fifer. This was still some £18 short of expenses owed two men for providing leggings, another three for hunting shirts, and the costs of supplying bacon, two rifles, a gun carriage, and canoe transportation. Hugh Rose at the same time supplied over £50 worth of rifles and muskets to Nicholas Cabell's company. Also

43 yards of linen, 10 pots, and six rugs were forwarded. These were purchased from seventeen Amherst citizens. From May 25 to July 23, the company received pay of £260.17.4. ³⁶ Theoretically, the Committees of Safety and later the state picked up the tab for these expenses, but in reality many revolutionary claims were never paid. Many surviving merchants and soldiers long after 1808 continued to submit claims for unpaid services.

In the early stages, the war was conducted solely on an enlistment basis, so patriotic fervor helped counteract lack of financial compensation. Soon, though, militia and Continental army drafts came into play., Many conscripts were indifferent to the revolutionary cause and all were worried about the possibility of economic disaster during absences from their farms and businesses. All free white males between the ages of sixteen and fifty were subject to militia duty. Free mulattoes could only serve as drummers, fifers, and pioneers (maintenance men and guides). Copper, iron, and lead workers were exempt, as were tailors and joiners. Ministers, physicians, teachers, millers, and wagoners were generally exempt although many of the latter were conscripted. Students at William and Mary were originally not called up, but this changed as manpower needs rose. Quakers were allowed to arrange for substitutes.³⁷ Most army units were discharged after 96 days service.

The problems of war supplies and enforced war absences are revealed by one of the rare war letters from Amherst that has survived. Hugh Rose wrote Nicholas Cabell from his home at Geddes on June 11: "Inclosed I send you a List of the Guns which I have furnished yr Compy. with also of the Pots, Rugs & Linen for which I shall be glad to receive a Receipt, as well as for my Brother Peters Musket & my own: perhaps by the inclos'd list you may be able to reconcile the Variance in my Cash Act., altho I am almost certain that it proceeds from the Cause that I assign'd to you yesterday. My overseer this Moment informs me that yr mare can't be found; however be not uneasy about her, for the Pasture is very large & bushy, & the Fence is so good that it is impossible for her to get out. I am yr sincere Friend & obt. Servt."³⁸

The county court convened on June 3, but had little business

before it. Three under-sheriffs were sworn and John Rose was confirmed as a vestryman.³⁹ Most of the justices were involved in the county committee of safety (renamed court of inquiry) or busy with military procurement. Gabriel Penn, for example, had been paymaster of the Buckingham District since March.⁴⁰ Hugh Rose assumed leadership in the county during William Cabell's and Gabriel Penn's sojourn in Williamsburg. Among his many duties were those of runaway slave warden. A thirty-year-old black named Ben escaped from his custody on May 15. Originally from Buckingham, he had spent the Fall of 1775 in Fredericksburg. There he had used his trades of carpenter and shoemaker to pass as a free man under the name John Savage. Ben, alias John, had an Indian wife from Goochland. Rose warned the Gazette readers that the two might be headed for that county. Subsequent Amherst records give no further information on this run-away, so Ben may have been another Amherst black who achieved liberty in 1776.

There appears to have been no overt resistance in Amherst to the momentous changes that brought Virginia towards independence. Most active Tories had left by April. This brought internal security to the county, but weakened the economy since some of those who had left were Scottish traders. Others, such as the merchant Neill Campbell, who represented an English firm, kept their silence and still hoped for reconciliation. Over three hundred Amherst citizens were actively involved in the revolutionary cause by this time through army service, the supply of goods, or administrative work. The unanimity of leadership support for the Revolution was due in part to the dominant roles played by the Penns, Roses, and in particular, the Cabells. Colonel William Cabell was unchallenged in the county and his immense popularity and influence alone would have been sufficient to mobilize the county behind the Patriot cause. Even without the Cabell prestige, the county would have undoubtedly rallied to the insurrection. England was clearly perceived as a menace and separation was not viewed as either a threat to livelihood or lifestyle. Most middling farmers were in debt to British agents and the opportunity for a new economic start was an irresistible appeal for revolution. Three landowners with influence who may have exerted a restraining force, Carter Braxton, Walter

King and John Harmer, were in Philadelphia or England respectively. All of their agents either enthusiastically supported the rebel cause or were waiting to see how the military situation developed. Harmer and King were especially cautious in order to maintain a precarious control over their land from three thousand miles away. The community, then, overwhelmingly supported the actions of its representatives.

At least five wills were written or recorded in this period. Benjamin Childers left an estate worth £185.11.4, including one slave, a grindstone, flax, a cottonwheel, and two guns. John Water left property valued at £26.13.1. A subsistence farmer, he bequeathed no slaves, but left an Old Testament along with his livestock and agricultural tools. Battaile Harrison, Thomas Johns, and Benjamin Cash were considerably more affluent and all left slaves to their heirs.

Some four real estate transactions occurred, ranging in value from £14 for 500 acres (George Carrington of Cumberland's deed to Joseph Goodwin for land located on Harris Creek near Richard Peters, James Crew, Thomas Williamson, and Peter Thacker) to £50 for 50 acres in a transfer from John Puckett to Jacob Puckett (involving land located on the south side of the Rockfish near William Oglesby). The others included Michael Montgomery to Samuel Woods (£130 for 2000 acres on Short's Branch of the Rockfish near Joseph Barnett on the original Chiswell tract), and James Gatewood to James Watson (£250 for 401 acres on Carter Braxton's original tract of the Buffalo River near John Penn, Henry Gilbert, and David Shepherd's, all of whom were active at the time in the Revolution).⁴³

Summer

In late June, Captain Nicholas Cabell's company proceeded in canoes down the James via Westham to Jamestown. The company remained there until September 12. This Amherst unit saw little action in that period, serving mainly as a deterrent to Lord Dunmore's depredations. Some Amherst volunteers did see action in South Carolina during this time. These men marched with General Charles Lee to relieve the British siege of Charleston. A British naval assault on June 28 and 29 ran afoul of the harbor shoals and

the British were forced to beat a retreat. This early English effort to divide the colonies was unsuccessful and saved the South from serious attack until the end of the war. The Amherst troops returned in gleeful triumph, having participated in their first victory over British regulars. (49) The Amherst citizenry as a whole also was able to view the enemy at close range. Captains James and Richard Barron in the Virginia vessel Oxford intercepted a British transport full of Scottish Highland troops. Ship, cargo, and troops were seized and sent to Williamsburg to be disposed of. Colonel Cabell argued that Amherst's secluded location made it ideal for housing prisoners-of-war, and accordingly, thirteen men and one woman prisoner arrived at Amherst Court House on June 24.⁴⁵

The northern fronts, on the other hand, presented a grave threat to the Continental cause. The last American troops were routed from Canada in June and the main British army approached New York. Stephenson's Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment absorbed most of the Amherst Riflemen and rejoined General Washington's forces. Several more rifle companies were assigned to Virginia's quota in late June for three-year enlistment terms. Up to this point, regular Continental service had been for one year only. The threat in the north prompted Virginians to dispose of the meddlesome

Dunmore as quickly as possible. Dunmore's mixed force of regulars, slave runaways, and Tories landed on Gwynn's Island in the Chesapeake after some success in raiding the Virginia coast. General Andrew Lewis and the Amherst men of the 6th Regiment began a two-day assault of the island on July 8. Outgunned and disease-ridden, Dunmore's forces had no chance and a few remnants escaped into the Maryland region of the Chesapeake. Left behind were mostly sick slaves suffering from malnutrition and the governor's unburied dead. After a few more raids, Dunmore left the Chesapeake in August for New York. The Battle of Gwynn's Island left only the Indians to menace Virginia until 1780. Amherst soldiers in New York knew of July 9 that the struggle with England was only beginning when the Declaration of Independence was read to the troops and signified the final break with the mother country. By the end of the month, news of the Declaration had reached county resident and Amherst troops. The die had been irrevocably cast for a

struggle to the finish.⁴⁶

As a temporary lull settled on the main battle fronts, two companies of Amherst militia under the command of Nicholas Cabell were allowed to return home to attend to their personal affairs.⁴⁷ Some 58 men were owed over £260 in pay. This amount was covered in part by money supplied by the state, by Hugh Rose, and by private citizens, but even so the men were short some £L80 in accrued wages. Most men received £2.⁴⁸

Virginia continued to clear its frontier. The British hoped to use the Cherokees to engage the southern rebels while they mopped up in the northern states. The Americans had courted Indian support and were successful with some tribes. The Cherokees, however, who had traded extensively with Amherst and other western counties, decided they had little to gain from allying with the western speculators who were using any means fair or foul to occupy their hunting grounds. Thus, they needed little encouragement from the British to avenge themselves on their white tormentors. The Shawnees along the Kanawha River in present-day West Virginia also made use of the Revolution to strike back at Virginia encroachment. The Shawnee uprising pushed the active Indian frontier back to the Blue Ridge. A number of western settlers found refuge in Amherst, considered to be the most secure western county in the state.⁴⁹ Amherst residents realized that unless aggressive action was taken against the Cherokees and Shawnees, the county itself might become a battleground.

Captain John Sale raised a company against the Cherokees and spent much of the summer and winter campaigning. Men from Amherst joined Rockbridge and Augusta forces and gradually pushed the Indians west of the Shenandoah Valley. Part of Nicholas Cabell's company under Lieutenant James Pamplin was mobilized for twenty day's service. The unit proceeded from Lynch's Ferry to the west, but had little luck combatting Cherokee raids. After a march that accomplished little besides the burning of crops and deserted huts, the group disbanded following "great indisposition of the company". (50) The campaign against the Cherokees in western North Carolina proceeded more fruitfully. By the end of August, the Cherokees had

been driven back to the Holston River. Charles Lewis was appointed commander of the Virginia battalion to continue the attack. On August 26 he wrote a letter to Nicholas Cabell that reveals much about the mechanics of Indian campaigning:

" As I have received orders to Rendezvous with my Battallion at or near the great Island on Holston River, on the 20th day of September in order to go against the Cherokees; I now send express to you, to desire that you will use all possible dispatch in compleating your Company: And you are to meet me with your Company at Bedford Court House betwixt the first & fifth day of September as we will then have rather more than 200 miles to the place of Rendezvous...You will procure two Waggon and teams if one be not sufficient to carry all your men's things: Let their Blankets and Cloaths be put into the Waggon in order to enable the men to march with the more dispatch.-- I would have you to procure what Tin, or Brass Kettles you can; and by all means get good guns, Shott Pouches & Powder Horns; none...can be had after you march from Bedford. Let a Waggon attend you with Provisions, that you may not be delayed on that account on your March---. I need not tell you Sir how much depends on our Battallion; the whole Expedition will be delayed on our account if we do not exert ourselves, therefore I trust you will be diligent. As there will be no tents, if you can get three Blankets for every two men, the third one will answer the purpose of stretching for a Cover. Although your Company may not be fully compleat, you must come with what you can get--I shall Sir, rely on your industry and zeal for the service."⁵¹

By the end of the year, the Cherokee offensive capacity had been smashed and most of the western frontier was again safe for settlement and speculation. Amherst faced increasing manpower demands as the situation in the north grew worse. In September all states were assigned quotas to be met regularly. Consequently, each county had to meet regular quotas. There was a continuous split throughout the year between those who thought all troops should have three-year enlistments and those who urged that the militia be rotated in the Continental army. This confusion continued to plague the army's efficiency. Amherst troops found themselves called into service during periods of leave and often had little rest in between summonses. Between March 18 and September 12, Nicholas Cabell's

company served 118 days, a staggering sum considering the relative inactivity of the first part of the year and the inherent colonial dislike for a standing army.

The financial burden escalated for military suppliers in Amherst as well. In June some 28 citizens had to be compensated more than £33 for providing Nicholas Cabell's unit with rifles, yards of thread, binding and scarlet garters, bushels of sifted meal, barrels of corn, hunting shirts, and linens.⁵³ On July 4, a warrant was issued to Gabriel Penn, commissioner of the Buckingham District, for £250 to purchase supplies for area troops.⁵⁴ Samuel Jordan Cabell continued to benefit from his father's private donation and government funds. Only July 2, Colonel William Cabell sent his son £11. The following day, a warrant was issued to the latter for £3 for recruiting three soldiers, and £14 for tomahawks. The next day Samuel Cabell received another £4 for tents.⁵⁵ The quantity of money changing hands inevitably led to inflation. There was also the problem of counterfeiting, which plagued military units and Amherst officials alike. Nicholas Cabell reported that counterfeit money had been discovered in Jamestown among the soldiers, but that had not bothered no_____ ? means the only problem in the ranks. Desertions resulted from disenchantment with the patriot cause and simple home sickness. On the very day the Declaration of Independence was passed in Philadelphia, Captain Samuel Cabell put a notice in the Virginia Gazette concerning two deserters. One was James Vaughan, 23 years old. He was described as having long black hair (itself representing insubordination), and wearing a new suit of gray broadcloth, an old hunting shirt trimmed with red, old leather breeches, and green broadcloth trimmed with silver lace, "which he purchased at Dunmore's sale". Also missing from Williamsburg camp was Josiah Cheatham, 22, described as having short dark hair and "looking dejected". A forty-shilling reward was offered for the discovery of each. On the following day, both men were reported to have probably stolen a five-foot-tall, nineteen-year old mare from Mrs. Camp's pasture. There was a £3 reward if the horse was delivered to Gabriel Penn in Amherst and a £6 advance if the horse were returned to Williamsburg.⁵⁷ Later in the month a controversy developed over Major Spotswood's handling of the estate of Daniel

Little, an Amherst soldier in Captain Fontaine's company killed at Norfolk early in the year. The major acquired the estate because Little had been in debt. The accusation was made that Spotswood had deliberately debased the value of the estate to the detriment of the deceased heirs in order to make a quick profit.⁵⁸

Available evidence indicates that Thomas Jefferson still owned some land in Amherst County in 1776, even though he was in the process of liquidating his remaining holdings.⁵⁹ This property was located on the Bedford-Amherst line on Tomahawk, Rockcastle, and Judith's creeks, and on the Fluvanna River. Already plagued by financial insecurity, he saw his Amherst lands as economic liabilities. There is no information available concerning Jefferson's dealings with Amherst County or its residents for 1776. In fact, it is probably safe to state that, until June, Colonel William Cabell was a better known and respected Piedmont figure than Jefferson. From that time on, Jefferson's impact on Amherst, Virginia, and the nation grew to dwarf that of any other single Virginian.

As Virginia gradually emerged from administrative uncertainty in the summer of 1776, Colonel William Cabell's central role in the formulation of state policy began to decline. The Committee of Safety annals in June indicate that Colonel Cabell, John Nicholas, and George Carrington received £5,000 to erect a blast furnace in Buckingham for the production of pig iron. Cabell joined his colleagues in the balloting that selected state regiment officers. On July 4, Colonel Cabell made a purchase from a man named Gilbert that ironically underscored the Amherst ambivalence towards the rights of men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness being so ardently proclaimed in Philadelphia. For the price of £31.9, Cabell acquired two female and three males slaves. The following day, he paid Mrs. Starke for washing his clothes. After closing out some other accounts, Cabell laconically wrote that the Committee of Safety was dissolved. Attorney Thomas Porsser was paid on July 7, as was Lula Neal for providing ladles to Samuel Cabell's unit. On the tenth Cabell returned home to Amherst for the first time since May 6. With no further comment, Cabell closed out his service in Virginia's provisional government. Not until 1805 would an Amherst citizen, also named Cabell, sit in the state's executive.

Throughout those intervening years, Amherst drifted steadily away from the focus of political power. July 4, 1776 marked the high water mark of the county's role in the state and national affairs.⁶⁰

When Colonel Cabell surrendered his state office, the General Assembly offered him a position in the Executive Council, an advisory group with whom the governor acted. Cabell declined the office in order to attend to the wartime administration of Amherst and to his personal affairs. The day after he arrived home Cabell immediately became absorbed in county business.⁶¹

Constitutional turmoil served only to strengthen the power of the Amherst court during Colonel Cabell's absence. The new constitution made no effort to increase democracy in the counties. Amherst electoral, civil and legal procedures continued to follow colonial precedents. Even the composition of the court remained the same. Ten justices, William Cabell, Zachariah Taliaferro, Ambrose Rucker, Alexander Reid, Jr., Roderick McCulloch, James Nevil, Daniel Gaines, David Crawford, John Rose, and James Dillard, swore to obey the new government during the July 1 session. William Loving, Merritt Megan, and the two Penns continued to serve under Sheriff Hugh Rose. The cost of war did force the court to raise license fees, but tithe taxes were reduced to 1s.3d, or less than one-half of the special 1775 war tax. Another war tax of 1 shilling per 100 acres owned by voters was also levied. The established church was hurt by the new tax structure because minister's salaries were suspended.⁶³

The court dealt severely with criminal complaints at this time. Sall Baloring (alias Ann Lafsam) was hauled into court yet another time. This occasion, however, her offense took on a more menacing connotation given the revolutionary ferment. She was charged with misdemeanors and alleged criminal correspondence with a male slave of Clerk Edmund Wilcox. Such a biracial threat to the social order of Amherst could not be handled leniently. Baloring received fifteen lashes on her bare back and was ordered to serve her master Depriest 35 additional days. Then it was discovered that the woman had been missing for 46 days, so she was sentenced to a further employment of 86 days. Henry Bell, captain of the patrol, was allowed 540 pounds of tobacco for apprehending suspicious slaves.⁶⁴

The next court convened on August 5. Joseph Cabell and John Dawson were sworn in as justices supporting the new constitution. Charles Rose took an oath to serve as an attorney. John Dawson was appointed to the vestry, and the entire group took an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth. The justices ordered that an orphan child be bound out and that all guardians of orphans should appear at the next court to render their accounts. James Arnold (alias James Hopkins) was committed to jail as a "suspicious person." It was reported that he had broken out of jail while awaiting the death penalty for a felony. Business concluded when two runaways from Loudon County were jailed and William Howard was convicted for breach of the peace.⁶⁵

In September, the court met twice, convening on the second to handle an ordinary run of business. Ten days later a special called court tried Tom, a slave of Morrice Gilbert, for the alleged murder of a female slave of George Gilbert. Tom pled not guilty at the trial presided over by five justices. Showing that they were not panicked by their view of earlier alleged slave conspiracies, the justices found Tom not guilty and discharged him.⁶⁶

The estates of Benjamin Childers, John Lavender, and John Waters were inventoried in July. While Childers and Waters had fared satisfactorily, Lavender died virtually destitute. His total effects were worth less than £10 and included only two "Dutch" blankets, one certificate for a wolf's head, one raccoon hat, one bull and a gun valued at four pounds. William Penn wrote his will in August before going into the army, entrusting his fortune to the "United Colonies of America." Penn never returned to Amherst and died in the field. Childers mentioned that his children should be educated. Given his estate of some £185, that objective was certainly reasonable. He also left hemp, saddles, carpenter's tools, and surprisingly for a man of his affluence, only one slave.

The uncertainty of Virginia's course severely hampered trade and commercial establishments. The scarcity of road construction is a good barometer of commercial stagnation for the period. At least one road was completed from James Turner's land. This proceeded around the lower side of Terisha Turner's plantation into the Rockfish road.⁶⁸ The constitutional ambiguity had also frozen all

land transactions since the beginning of the year. Only on July 1 were the above mentioned transfers legally recorded. At least five real estate transfers occurred in the summer. Jacob Norris sold John Tuley, Jr. 200 acres on the branches of Thomas Mill Creek by Davenport's line for £50. Nicholas Cabell sold two tracts of land to Allan Robinson and Stephen Turner. James Miller had fallen into debt to Edmund Wilcox and had to mortgage his land in return for two slaves, cattle, and furniture. Carter Braxton raised a small amount of cash in the summer by selling a small plot of James Watson.⁶⁹ Far and away the main real estate venture of the season was Thomas Mann Randolph's proposed sale. Like other absentee landlords, Randolph was desirous to acquire ready cash to provide for any calamity the Revolution might bring. Through July and August, the Virginia Gazette carried advertisements for an auction of 2,400 acres on Flat Creek. This was but a small portion of his grandfather's original baronial estates in Amherst. Randolph offered 7 1/2 percent discount on ready cash, with two years to settle the full account. In December, forty slaves were also to be sold in addition to the livestock and wheat on the estate. Further information concerning the success of the auction is lacking.⁷⁰

The social landscape of Amherst changed gradually due to all the political, military, and legal transformations that accompanied Virginia's revolutionary summer. The courthouse vicinity most clearly reflected these developments. In addition to the normal commerce, military transactions occurred with increasing frequency on court days. The on-going military establishment created business at the courthouse square throughout the months. William Penn, for example, advertised in the Virginia Gazette for horses to be brought to the square on August court days for cavalry and transport purposes. Penn specified that the horses must be at least 4'10".⁷¹

The arrival of the Scottish Highlanders added both a brogue and a new social class to the courthouse community. The Highlanders were regarded by the local inhabitants with both fear and curiosity. Many of the prisoners had been told that they were being sent to America to take possession of forfeited farms, an idea that stirred much resentment among the Amherst proprietors. The continental

Congress ordered that officers were to support themselves and could be paroled. The rank and file were encouraged to stimulate the local economy by working in trades. Tavern keepers were not allowed to extend the soldiers credit, but the English army could supply provisions. The General Assembly was to be informed regularly concerning their treatment and behavior.⁷² Amherst hospitality soon was extended to the prisoners. There is no indication in the records of subsequent bad feeling between the involuntary settlers and their wardens. The Highlanders remained for more than five years and were assimilated into the community. As the summer waned into fall, however, the future of Amherst self-rule along with the independence of the thirteen states, appeared to be in great jeopardy.

AUTUMN

The British occupation of New York City sent shockwaves resounding through all of the states. For the Amherst men of Captain Samuel Jordan Cabell's company, the bad news signaled an end to six months of virtual military idleness in Williamsburg. General Washington sent urgent commands to Virginia for reinforcements, orders that were quickly acknowledged. General Andrew Lewis' brigade departed from its bivouac and joined the Continental forces in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, in late September. Other Amherst men participated in the losing struggle of Harlem Heights outside New York. The continental forces reeled in disorder as the British rushed them southward. Most of the men of Colonel Hugh Stevenson's Maryland-Virginia Rifle Brigade were captured at Fort Washington on November 16, along with several thousand others.

Virginia and Continental congress authorities realized that even on paper their forces were insufficient against the British onslaught. The General Assembly authorized six new battalions late in October to aid the war effort. The original Amherst quota was set at 46 men. As further inducement to enlist, each soldier would receive a suit of clothes and \$20 bounty. Every noncommissioned officer would receive 100 acres of western land, every ensign 150 acres, every captain 300 acres, and so forth up to the rank of

colonel, which would be allotted 500 acres. Amherst militia officers were extremely busy in cajoling prospective troops to sign up.⁷³

The creation of these new battalions brought Virginia troop strength to fifteen regiments. Most of the Amherst recruits were funneled into the 10th Virginia. Captain James Franklin originally commanded the Amherst company. Clough Shelton was also assigned to this unit, and later replaced Franklin as captain. The Amherst officers were commissioned in late November and joined the campaign in December. Colonel John Green commanded this unit. Other Amherst citizens enlisted in the 14th Virginia under the command of Colonel Charles Lewis. Some individuals who originally lived in Amherst and others who moved to the county after the war were sprinkled throughout most of the other regiments.⁷⁴

At the very nadir of American military fortunes, General Washington plotted a masterful counter-stroke that would renew the optimism of all patriots and momentarily shift the momentum of the war. Under the cover of darkness on Christmas night, Continental crossed the Delaware River and fell upon the unwary Hessians. Many of the Germans were asleep or intoxicated and gave little opposition to *den Teufelsen* (the devils) in their midst. The Amherst soldiers particularly distinguished themselves in the raid. Benjamin Taliaferro personally captured several officers.⁷⁵ Although the British limited the American advance, a patriot bridgehead had been reestablished in New Jersey.

At home, Samuel Woods, contractor for the Buckingham Military district, acted as paymaster in this period to many Amherst military projects.⁷⁶ Colonel William Cabell's itemization of military expenses for the year revealed the increasing financial cost of the conflict to Amherst. Colonel Cabell personally paid some £490 throughout the year, including some £12 for provisions for the Scottish prisoners at the courthouse.⁷⁷ For many Amherst citizens, the price of the Revolution was imprisonment or death. The five-major Matthew Snooks was one of the few American prisoners at Trenton. Some soldiers were killed in action, but a far larger number died of wounds or diseases.

Various measures were passed by the General Assembly late in

the year to revive commerce in Virginia and reestablish legal machinery. Various bills to create courts of justice were drafted in late November and early December. Until December, many opposed the opening of courts because they were afraid that British agents might try to recover debts, but this objection was overcome by the above-mentioned law. Despite the removal of customs duties, the outlook for the Virginia economy was not bright. An inspection tax of 3s/hogshead remained. Private trade remained stagnant, although a variety of goods were available in Williamsburg and Yorktown for those Amherst proprietors who could make the trip. The best business was naturally with military commissary agents, although some overland trade was conducted with Philadelphia and entrepreneurs like Braxton could try high risk ventures in the Caribbean. Most farm and industrial production was limited to local subsistence which continued the colonial pattern for most Amherst residents. The General Assembly provided that soldiers in the field and their dependents would not suffer undue financial hardship from lack of trade and production. In December, every county was ordered to collect rugs and blankets for soldiers. Also, the wives and children of poor soldiers were to be provided subsistence goods.⁷⁸

Colonel William Cabell reappeared in the state political arena under the new constitution, albeit in a subdued role. The colonel had been overwhelmingly elected first senator from the Eighth District. He left Union Hill to assume his duties on October 3. Involved in few of the commercial transactions that had characterized his last visit to Williamsburg, the colonel appears to have been totally absorbed in legislative matters. He was appointed both to Privileges and Elections and to the Rules Committee. He also served on a number of conference committees, an indication of his continuing prestige. His support was crucial and he was recognized as one of the handful of senators who controlled the outcome of legislation. He was a very powerful advocate for his district's welfare and gave Amherst an influence far greater than its population would normally have warranted. Cabell was much more effective in the senate than his counterparts in the House in pressing Amherst concerns.⁷⁹

The Amherst representative remained in the capital a month, but

recorded little about the momentous legislation events in which he participated. The only comment in his diary on the session was a remark that some twelve bills on religion had been introduced at the beginning of December. At the College of William and Mary, Cabell signed a bond authorizing the appointment of James Higginbotham as county surveyor. A gun lock was acquired for William Loving. Connerly the hatter and Draper the smith equipped the senator for Christmas festivities. The holiday season also turned Cabell's mind toward neglected intellectual pursuits. Amherst resident John Barnard had request of copy of Robinson Crusoe, which Purdy's shop was able to provide for five shillings. For his own edification, the colonel purchased an almanac (7s.6d) for the coming year. from Dixon and Hunter's bookstore. With some trepidation for the future, William Cabell left for Amherst on December 19, carrying surveyor's instruments for Higginbotham.⁸⁰

Colonel William's brother Joseph, and Gabriel Penn, both of whom had prior legislative experience, were elected by Amherst to be the county's representatives in the House of Delegates. Cabell and Penn rarely appear in the official records. Penn is recorded as having served on the Committee of Trade; Cabell on the Committee of Propositions and Grievances. The most important issue before the House and the one which consumed much of the legislators' time and energy concerned religion. The combined factors of the Anglican association with the English occupation army, the importance of the dissenters to the patriot war effort, and the lack of money to support parish financial efforts all greatly undermined the position of the established church. From October 11 to December 5, the House debated the question of religious freedom. Thomas Jefferson led the effort to emancipate the dissenters.

On October 14, a bill was approved to naturalize all foreign Protestants. The main stimulus came from county petitions by dissenter groups. The House was flooded by these documents. Two arrived from Amherst alone on the twenty-second and another was reported on November 1. In all, close to one hundred Amherst citizens, including Anglicans, signed the appeals. Many respected residents including Robert McCulloch, William Loving, Thomas Fortune, John Garland, William Irwin, William Shelton, James

Montgomery, and William Woods lent their support to the petition.⁸¹ Excluding McCulloch, however, the top level of the Amherst political leadership withheld any endorsement. Most of those men were Anglicans, and they viewed disestablishment as a mixed blessing that would further support freedom of conscience but might also weaken the the basic fabric of morality and undermine the county's social control and welfare efforts.

The Amherst petitioners presented their argument against the reestablishment of the Anglican church in independent Virginia: "Your Memorialists conceive, that to put every religious denomination on an equal footing, to be supported by themselves independent one of another, would not only be a reasonable and just Mode of government, but, would certainly have a happy Influence on the greater parity of the several Churches; on their more free and friendly Intercourse with each other; on suppressing anything like Feuds, & Animosities amongst the People, & on attaching all, of every Denomination to government." ⁸²

This and similar petitions were referred to the Committee on Religion, since neither Penn nor Cabell were on this committee and had little to say on the matter, Amherst dissenters looked to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison of Albemarle for leadership. Despite Jefferson's exhortations, the Committee proceeded very slowly in its actions. An Amherst petition concerning cash versus tobacco payments to the vestry was eventually ratified, but not until December 3. Carter Braxton, whose ties with the Anglican Church were strong, engineered the compromise bill. Dissatisfied with the slow deliberations, the Virginia Association of Baptists, with numerous adherents in Amherst, issued a strongly worded declaration concerning religious freedom on Christmas Day.⁸³ No further progress on the religious issue, though, was made until later in the Revolution. In Amherst, the various Protestant denominations had never been harshly treated, and now they enjoyed even greater freedom to worship as they chose. Financial support of the parish and the legal difficulties caused by dissenter marriages continued to vex most Amherst Protestants.

Amherst representatives voted on numerous resolutions that had nothing to do with religion, but beside defense expenditures and support of the economy, most of their concerns were of a local

nature. One notable exception was the enthusiastic support accorded to the promotion of Hampden-Sydney College. A petition from the college requested financial support and asked for a board of trustees to be established as a public corporation. Public sentiment increasingly favored Hampden-Sydney as William and Mary became disrupted by the war and tarnished by its Tory administration: The Reverend John Camm, whose family later settled in Amherst, presided over the Williamsburg college and was notorious for his Anglophile persuasions. Colonel William Cabell, who had been a trustee of Hampden-Sydney for a year, was the college's most important booster in Amherst.⁸⁴

At least two bills of purely local concern to Amherst were enacted by the General Assembly. The first, oddly enough, concerned a French and Indian War veteran, John Liviston. Liviston requested a pension for his war service and disabling wound, which was approved. Henry Trent and Nicholas Davies requested that a ferry connect their lands across the Fluvanna. Close to sixty residents of the county seconded the proposal. In November a bill for this purpose was surprisingly coupled with a measure to link Walter King's land at Point of Fork to William Cannon's. Both ferries were approved. In a routine action late in the session, Daniel Gaines was confirmed on December 16 as Amherst County sheriff. (85) Shortly thereafter, the Assembly adjourned for the year.

The two Amherst court sessions of the autumn were very brief. When the justices assembled on October 7, their principal business was to divide the estate of Cornelius Thomas among his heirs. James Higginbotham, Roderick McCulloch, Jacob Smith, and William Spencer were assigned the task. Lucas Powell, Hugh Rose, and Patrick Rose were ordered to superintend the construction of a new jail. The justices met for the year's final session of November 4. James Hulce accused James and Mary Welsh of disturbing the peace. James Welsh was imprisoned for his offense. A bastard child, Samuel Ball West, was bound out to serve as an apprentice. Daniel Gaines was recommended to serve as sheriff for the coming year and was confirmed.⁸⁶

Much road construction was reported in the final months of the years and supervisors were confirmed for some of the existing

arteries. Nathaniel Mantiply was selected as the overseer for the road from Gabriel Penn's land to St. Mark's Church. The justices ordered a link be constructed from Davis' Ferry to the Harris' Creek opposite Battaile Harrison's and over Harris Creek to the good land of the Harris estate. Then the road was to traverse 600 yards of the dividing line between Harris's and Rucker's property and another 500 yards down a hill through Captain Rucker's property. James Hill was appointed overseer. The fourth road was to extend from the east side of Henry Barnes's plantation to the main road joining Henry Key's land. William Watson, Thomas Montgomery, and William Deaver were ordered to survey the road.

John Tinsley opened a road from Harris Creek Bridge into Davis Ferry Road near Joshua Shelton's land. Elisha Lyon was appointed surveyor of the road from Stovall's Ferry to Porridge Creek. John Franklin surveyed a road from Lynch's Ferry to the head of Bolling's Creek in the area of Abraham North. Daniel Burford was appointed surveyor from Bolling's Creek to the Tye River Road in the region of Joseph Magann. Bartholomew Ramsey was selected to be the surveyor from the mountains in the fork of the Piney River to the cross road in the area of Gilbert Hay. Hay was exempted from working to support the road because of his infirmity. Henry Christian's tithables were instructed to help build the road to James London's land. Additional surveyors and heads of work crews included John Coleman, Thomas Lucas, Moses Swinney, John Quinn, James Hill, William Johns, Henry Gilbert, David Shepherd, John Cooley (overseer for John Penn), James Watson (overseer for Henry Gilbert), and Benjamin Rucker. Rucker was specifically ordered to use Robert Gillard, John Knight, Hugh Guitland, Stephen Ham, William Miller, and David Mahoon in his work force.⁸⁷

At least six wills were written or proved by the end of the year. Thomas Evans intoned "in the name of the lord I give my body to the Earth and my Sole to the Lorde God in Heaven." His son Benjmain received all of his land and one horse. His three other sons, Charles, Thomas, and William received one shilling each out of a total of five shillings their father bequeathed. George Campbell also indicated

deep religious feeling in his will. Campbell bequeathed an estate of approximately £180, including books worth £3, but no slaves. Other effects included livestock, farm tools, glasses, and his one "vice", three pairs of cards. Samuel Staples does not seem to have been exceptionally pious. His estate valued at £250 included three slaves and a book entitled The Art of Money Catching. He also bequeathed a family Bible. Reuben Griffin (killed the following year in the Revolution) left a meager estate including one slave.⁸⁸

David Duncan passed on an estate worth £48, including a "wench" valued at £45. Augustine Wright bequeathed an estate estimated at £430, with two slaves valued at half that amount. Neil Campbell (will composed December 3, 1776; proved May 5, 1777) left the richest and most interesting estate of the period. His total worth from his mercantile activities was estimated to run in excess of £2100. His twenty-one slaves varied from £20 to £120 in value, collectively totaling more than £1,480. Tobacco supplies at George Taylor's and at Long Mountain were appraised at £200. Cash on hand included £69.6s. Fourteen hogsheads, numerous livestock, and 25 gallons of brandy rounded out his produce. His nurse, and mistress, Tabithy Balloe (formerly of Albemarle and later of New River), received six slaves and the land Campbell had purchased from James Smith. His naturalized daughter Elizabeth Campbell received fourteen slaves and all the merchant's lands in Amherst. His east mill at Perth in the north of Britain was Campbell's major industrial legacy. The Roses and Charles Irving, also a merchant, served as his executors. The Roses received guns and other personal effects from the Amherst entrepreneur.⁸⁹

Some eleven real estate transactions closed out the year. Speculators either tried to dispose of property quickly to obtain liquid capital or buy up property just as quickly from those panicked by the course of the war. One could choose between safely recovering one's investment or gamble that real estate values in an independent Virginia would outpace inflation. Transfers ranged in value from £20 Edward Bowman paid Ralph Jopling for 117 acres (on the branches of Tribble Fall and Dutch Creek near Thomas Bicknell) to an exchange of £300 between Charles Irving and Clough Shelton

for 330 acres on Corbin's Creek and the Rockfish near John Small, Puckett's land, David Reid, Michael Montgomery, Alexander Reid, Francis Meriwether, and Chiswell's old lines. The single most expensive transfer also involved the merchant Charles Irving. He exchanged with Patrick Rose 894 acres at Grey's Point on the north side of the Piney river for £700. Thomas Gillenwater made two land deals with John McDaniel and Abraham North, disposing of 100 acres on Harris Creek near Edward Tinsley, Hugh Rose, Anthony Rucker, George McDaniel, and Susannah Rucker, and acquiring 278 acres on Bolling's Creek from North's original patent of 1755. For a net expense of £80, Gillenwater received 178 additional acres.⁹⁰

Three Hendcersons, James, Alexander, and William (resident of Albemarle), made three land exchanges. Lawrence Suddeth and William Henderson traded £80 for 94 acres on the main branches of Rucker's Run and bordering new lines in the mountains. Alexander Henderson sold to James 130 acres near the former's other land and Clapham's lines for £50. Then James returned the favor by selling 250 acres on Taylor's Creek near Robert Ware, John Henderson, Edward Stevens, and Robert Stevens for £50. Nathan Crawford exchanged to Benjamin Moore 200 acres at Rich cove adjacent to Moore's own land, Terisha Turner, John Dawson, and John Sorrel for £140. The deed still referred to Virginia as a colony. Thomas Waugh sold George Coleman for £220, 200 acres on Pedlar river and the mouth of Horsley's Creek. John Stewart paid Bartlett Cawley of Cumberland £245 for 260 acres on the north side of Crooked Run adjacent to Stewart's own land, James Meneer, Daniel Gaines, and Higginbotham's lands.⁹¹

The pervasive impact of the war on Amherst domestic life is represented in three final aspects. As large numbers of soldiers left for combat, their property either came increasingly under the management of overseers and wives, or fell into neglect. Often both happened. One example of neglect was the growing number of livestock that wandered about unattended and unclaimed. Between September and November, the Virginia Gazette carried four notices from Amherst residents asking for owners to claim various stray animals. David Barnett reported a missing sorrel horse, Henry Trent advertised for an unidentified heifer, Joseph Withers found a strange

mare in his pasture, and Lucy Childress discovered a red steer.⁹² The decline of livestock control was just one indication of the burden placed on the county by the war. The structure of Amherst social relations and the functioning of the economy were appreciably altered by these changes.

While some problems were caused by the military exodus, other were brought about by the forced immigration of prisoners. The case of the Scottish Highlanders has already been discussed as an example of a fairly satisfactory accommodation between outsiders and natives. A somewhat different situation resulted when the first convicted Virginia Tories arrived in Amherst. John Goodrich and his sons John, Jr., William, and Bartlett, formed a mercantile outfit, John Goodrich & Co of Isle of Wight County. Goodrich & Company was a very prominent Tidewater mercantile concern with international trading connections. When hostilities broke out in 1775, Virginia Convention authorities enlisted the Goodriches to supply the state with gunpowder and other merchandise that they could procure. John Goodrich proceeded to outfit a privateer and, with his sons, began to tap his Caribbean contacts for provisions. Thomas Goodrich, a relative, helped manage the family property in Isle of Wight.

Lord Dunmore had also been active in the period by recruiting support. Through naval superiority Dunmore dominated the Chesapeake and the Eastern Shore. Merchants such as John Cunningham of Northampton and James Parker of Accomack found themselves in a quandary in deciding whom to support. They opted for Dunmore partly for philosophical reasons in opposing what they saw as treason, but mainly for the practical concerns of trading with whomever controlled the waterways. Other, such as Josiah Philips, supported the British for the opportunity to engage in privateering. For reasons that are not entirely clear, John Goodrich and his family grew frustrated from the lack of financial support by the Virginia patriots and decided to bargain with Dunmore as well. For some time they acted as double agents, serving both Dunmore and the Convention. The Virginia authorities became suspicious, and the Goodriches finally decided to join Lord Dunmore openly. The royal governor's military position was at its zenith at this time.

Suddenly, however, after the Battle of Great Bridge crippled Tory military forces, the Goodriches, Cunningham, Parker, and Philips

found themselves supporting a losing cause. The best they could do was to join the royal governor in general raiding expeditions to harass patriot estates. Once Dunmore's military cover was removed, though it was only a matter of time before these Tory merchants were rounded up. All were originally sent to jail in Williamsburg. John and Thomas Goodrich were exiled to their property in Caroline County under virtual house arrest. Bartlett Goodrich and John Cunningham were convicted by the Northampton County Court of violating the state's boycott against trading with the English. Both were placed on parole in New London in Bedford. In November, Thomas Goodrich was escorted to Amherst. State authorities presumed that the isolation of the county would render him harmless. Bartlett Goodrich and Cunningham broke their paroles in Bedford and upon their recapture were sent to the Amherst jail for safekeeping. James Parker had refused to give parole and he was likewise imprisoned in Amherst. Parker's Accomack estate was confiscated.

Although deprived of their liberty, all fared better than Josiah Philips, who was executed for his activities. The disciplinary measures taken against the four Tories served as the county's precedents for suppressing its own latent British loyalists.⁹³

Some 8,000 persons in Amherst struggled, loved and sometimes died through this year of ends and beginnings. For the 1,200 white male adults, we have biographical information about the activities of approximately 400 residents, soldiers, and property owners. For some, like the Cabells we can almost follow their daily moves. Others, unfortunately are mere statistics in court cases and military payrolls. Worse even, we have no first hand information at all about the blacks and women who comprised 65 percent of the community. Yet the small core of leadership was dependent on the good will and cooperation of all the inhabitants to survive the revolutionary passions and perils of the age. Never before had so many varying alternatives presented themselves. Never before had the division between past and future been so graphically depicted.

In the midst of social dislocation and the bleakest war news, Colonel Cabell returned home from Williamsburg. His affluence and authority both allowed and required reflection. Realizing that he

was the single individual most responsible for guiding Amherst to its present position and directing the county through a difficult future, Colonel Cabell paused in his daily business to ponder the year's vicissitudes in Amherst and the country. Triumphs and disasters had both marked the annals. The most apparent force of 1776 was that Amherst stood at the most decisive crossroads in its history.

CHAPTER IX

"HIGH HEAVEN TO GRACIOUS END DIRECTS THE STORM" (1)

Even though the surprise victory over the Hessians at Trenton certainly improved the morale of the Continentals, the patriot forces continued to suffer from manpower shortages for another five years. These problems were reflected by the constant redesignation and consolidation of units. Most of the Virginia units were reorganized in 1777, but this failed to stem the erosion of military strength due to desertion, expiration of enlistments, and casualties. In September 1778, the fifteen Virginia regiments were reduced to eleven and the average complement declined from 728 to 582. The military effectiveness of the Old Dominion was greatly hampered by this administrative chaos which became worse as the war progressed. Keeping track of the Virginia units became an arcane assignment for quartermasters and paymasters.² The Continental army as a whole dropped from 46,891 men in 1776 to 13,292 in 1781. The British and their allied troops remained numerically inferior to the Americans until 1780 when they reached the total of 38,200. Throughout this time, however, the professional quality of the individual redcoat was higher than that of his American counterpart. British leadership remained inept throughout the war.³

Despite their multifarious names, Virginia and Amherst infantry, artillery, and cavalry units shared similar equipment and organization. Non-combatants in the 1781 Virginia regiments included an adjutant, one quartermaster, one paymaster, one surgeon, a surgeon's mate, and one quartermaster sergeant, in addition to the color guard of fifers and drummers. Smoothbore flintlock muskets and socket bayonets, supplied with 27 to 40 cartridges, were the standard infantry equipment. Officers carried swords or daggers. Sergeants may have worn sabers along with the drummers and fifers. Field-grade officers were normally mounted while the rest marched in file. Parading, marching, and even combat formations remained rough until 1778, when drill was standardized.

Even so, discipline was undermined by the presence at camp of many of the soldiers' women.⁴

The larger military units -- some two to six battalions formed a brigade with two or three brigades composing a division -- had quite a few logistical and support officials. The adjutant general controlled personnel, orders, and regulations. A deputy carried out these functions locally in Virginia. The quartermaster one staff conductor, and a conductor for each baggage train of the infantry. Military bateaux traffic in Amherst came under the quartermaster's jurisdiction.⁵ In 1781 a medical department replaced the hospital agencies of Virginia organized in 1776. Medical staff included at least one doctor, two surgeons, one apothecary, six supervised wagon trains and was assisted by a deputy, one headquarters conductor, surgeons' mates, one clerk, one storekeeper, one nurse for every ten sick men, and miscellaneous laborers.

In frontier areas army geographers surveyed the terrain for military maps. Infantry along the frontier were often organized as rangers for mobile patrol. The militia and minutemen were the other types of troops used in the war. At first the militia were purely state troops and usually remained within the confines of their native county. They served without pay on periodic musters. The Virginia Militia Act of May 5, 1777, ordered that all free males and apprentices from the ages of sixteen to fifty, with certain occupational exceptions, be subject to militia enrollment.⁶ Each county was divided into roughly ten divisions and every eligible militiaman was given a number. If his number was called, he was obliged to serve or call in a substitute. The county lieutenant commanded the militia forces. As the pressures of war grew, legislation authorized the drafting of more recruits. Usually, the militiamen supplied their own muskets, rifles, ammunition, bayonets, swords, or tomahawks. If they lacked these weapons, the county generally furnished them. The minutemen were detached from the militia to be sent to trouble spots throughout the state. They were expected to decamp on short notice. In the spring of 1777 the minutemen were merged with the militia. Henceforth, the militia was frequently called out beyond the boundaries of both

county and state.⁷

The artillery units were relatively small but often provided the margin of victory. Each field gun had its own crew of some fifteen artillerist. Four field guns accompanied every infantry brigade. Two to four horses were hitched to a field gun and driven by civilian teamsters. The field guns were mostly brass three and six pounders of British manufacture. Army supplies also included both new and obsolete French four pounders. Swedish brass guns were the most highly prized. Heavy siege guns and garrison pieces completed the artillery arsenal. These included 12-, 18-, and 24-inch powder guns, 5.8 and 8- inch howitzers, and 8-, 9- and 10-inch mortars. There were three key commands at every battery, or gun position. The mattsross supervised the transportation of the piece, rammed the charges, and carried the ammunition. The gunner checked the trajectory of the weapon. The bombardier insured that the gun was properly loaded.⁸

The cavalry was frequently as strategic as the artillery. Cavalry was extremely effective in reconnaissance, raiding, screening, and rearguard defense. Most cavalry units were referred to as light dragoons. Mixed units of foot and horse were styled legions. Ideally, every horseman carried a sword, carbine, 2 pair of pistols and helmet. The raiding and reconnaissance units, sometimes called partisan corps, were particularly important on the western frontier and the rapid marches through the South.

The Northern Front

Lord Howe's operations proceeded smoothly enough at first. Howe routed the Americans at Brandywine and inflicted a great many casualties. The family of Amherst soldier Peter Cartwright was hard hit by the defeat. Two of his brothers were killed in the struggle.⁹ The road to Philadelphia was now wide open. As the Continental Congress scrambled for safety, the British entered the American capital without resistance in late September. Washington attempted to counterattach at Germantown, but the British beat off this ill-fated move. They remained firmly ensconced in the City of Brotherly Love. Lord Howe occupied the metropolis until June 1778 and comfortably sat out the winter months.

The British failure in upstate New York more than compensated for the American reversals at Philadelphia. Burgoyne, a dapper and proud man, commenced his campaign with a flourish by capturing Fort Ticonderoga in July. "Gentleman Johnny" marched very slowly, however, and enabled the American forces under General Horatio Gates to regroup. At Bennington and Hubbardstown, Vermont, English pincer and foraging troops were beaten back. This allowed the continentals room for maneuvering. Observing that General Howe was satisfied to stay in Philadelphia, Washington dispatched Daniel Morgan's rifle corps with some of the Amherst shirtmen to aid Gates.

Morgan skirmished with the redcoats at Freeman's Farm on September 18 and was forced back. But Burgoyne found that the victory had only drawn the net tighter. The Americans were now able to encircle his forces completely. Burgoyne's attempt to break out on October 7 was a complete failure. Out-generalled and without hope of relief, several thousand of the finest English and German grenadiers surrendered ten days later. The Amherst infantry was particularly distinguished in the battle. Samuel Jordan Cabell, age 21, was promoted to major for gallantry.¹⁰ During the conflict, British General Fraser was killed, perhaps by the Amherst riflemen.¹¹ The Amherst soldiers did not escape unscathed, as John Brown was wounded and John Bowman's elbow was shattered.¹² The British prisoners, termed Convention Troops, were marched by Daniel Morgan's forces to the Albemarle Barracks, outside of Charlottesville, for their captivity.

Impending French aid was of small comfort to the Continentals in the winter of 1777-1778. Despite Saratoga, the British still held all of the major cities in the New Jersey area. Washington was forced to quarter his troops in December at Valley Forge, some 22 miles from Philadelphia. Parties of twelve men were ordered to use the area's timber to construct cabins 16 by 14 feet and six feet tall. Three bunks were placed one on top of another. A chronic shortage of food and clothing coupled with the cold made life generally miserable. Fire cake, from meal, and water were the main provisions for the troops. Baron van Steuben arrived from Prussia as drillmaster and tried to prevent the eroding morale of the troops

from completely destroying their combat readiness.¹³

Major Samuel Cabell was appointed brigade inspector to aid in disciplinary efforts.¹⁴ Cabell and his fellow officers faced a large task in shaping up the army. In the major's own unit of 103 men, 34 had died, one was captured (Matthew Snooks), 5 had deserted, 13 had been discharged, and 10 were sick, leaving the Amherst forces at approximately half-strength.¹⁵ Although some deserters from 1776 had reappeared in the ranks, many others left during the winter. Reasons varied from homesickness, boredom and deprivations to the need of some industrious farmers to superintend their property. Cabell offered a reward for the return of each deserter. Most of Cabell's company was discharged in February and March of 1778.¹⁶

Captain James Franklin's unit was also down to half-strength as five men had died, 25 were sick, and 10 had deserted out of his full complement of 81 men. (17) A smallpox epidemic raced through New Jersey in 1777. Many Amherst men were incapacitated by that disease and the rest were inoculated. William Penn, Amherst recruiting officer and a soldier in the cavalry, died from the illness. William Aaron was confined through the winter at Meedom Hospital. George Key (1753-1836) found two men frozen to death and was himself ill for three months. (18) In all some 41 Amherst soldiers had been killed or died by the end of 1777.¹⁹ Over one-fourth of the total of American forces had become useless for service.

Despite the hardships, life at Valley Forge was not totally cast in a pall. Music provided a popular relief. Colonel Christian Ferbiger's regiment had a band with German music masters to teach the fifers and drummers.²⁰ Thomas Dickerson of Amherst noted proudly in his pension application that he had played the fiddle at Valley Forge.

In order to free some troops for southern service, Clinton decided to consolidate his lines and withdrew from Philadelphia to New York in June. General Washington followed him closely and attacked the British rear guard at Monmouthcourt House. Washington ordered an aide-de-camp, Major Thomas Massie, to deliver an order to General Charles Lee to attack. Lee claimed he never got the proper order and as a result, The American offensive almost ended in catastrophe. Some of the Virginia troops, including Franklin's Amherst company,

now under the command of Clough Shelton, watched the Jersey inhabitants to prevent commercial intercourse with the enemy. Shelton's command was down to forty men of whom twelve were sick and one had been discharged. The year ended without further significant military activity, although a plan for Lafayette to invade Canada was briefly discussed.

Washington wintered in 1778-1779 at Middlebrook to protect the Hudson Highlands and his communications with New England and the South. The character of the war in the North changed from battle to siege, with occasional hit-and-run forays. Raids were made against West Point, Stony Point, and at Paulus Hook. Amherst soldiers participated in at least the last two engagements. Clough Shelton, now commanding Franklin's company, and his men were in the thick of the gray at Stony Point. Shadrack Battles, a free black man from Amherst, performed meritorious service at the battle. He fought beside Shelton as his "right hand man in all the daring acts of the most intrepid officer." Late in 1779 most of Shelton's company was furloughed or sent to the southern theater.²² Samuel Cabell's company fought in engagements in New Jersey in 1779 under Lord Stirling and his aide Aaron Burr.²³

The Southern Front

Following the defeat of the North Carolina Tories and the unsuccessful British attack on Charleston in 1776, the southern states had enjoyed relative peace and prosperity. Tobacco and grain trade with the Caribbean provided a steady market for exports and brought in needed foreign currency. With the Philadelphia, Newport, and New York ports closed, Charleston became an increasingly important entrepot for all of the states. The news of momentous happenings in the north filtered down slowly and lost much of its drama in the more than three hundred miles of passage south. Brandywine, Saratoga, and Stony Point were remote and obscure placenames to southern inhabitants. North and South Carolina farmers, planters, and merchants were content to supply small troop contingents to their beleaguered northern neighbors and pursue their traditional lifestyles in tranquility. Most expected that the British would wear themselves out in the Middle Atlantic and New England

states and eventually abandon the war without molesting the South.

In the farthest southern regions of the American confederacy, however, there appeared ominous portents of events to come. The British had steadily reinforced their garrisons in Florida, won from the Spanish in 1763, and conducted -borderwarfare along the Georgia and French Louisiana frontiers. Some Amherst citizens participated in these campaigns, including Ezra Morrison in the Florida scout patrol of the 2nd Georgia Regiment.²⁴ American forces along the poorly defined Georgia-Florida border were spread extremely thin. Even wounded soldiers were employed when possible. Amherst soldier John Newman discovered this to his chagrin when he could not get a discharge, even though badly wounded.²⁵

Southern complacency was finally shattered when Clinton and Earl Cornwallis moved in force against Charleston in December 1779. A massive armada departed from New York with 6,000 infantry aboard. Thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of losing one of the richest American ports, Washington sent most of the Virginia Continental Line to the city's defense. The remnants of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th 10th and 11th regiments were redeployed as the First and Second Virginia Detachments, and sent posthaste under General Benjamin Lincoln. Other Virginia militia units followed. Samuel Jordan Cabell, by now promoted to lieutenant colonel²⁶ marched his Amherst men five hundred miles in thirty days and reached Charleston just as the British attack began in February 1780. Colonel William Cabell remained as solicitous as always about his son's welfare and continued to send him supplies through the siege. Isham Valentine, a free Negro, was dispatched with a pair of pistols and pistol moulds, a blue broadcloth, one white vest, one pair of breeches with oval silver buttons, one pair of mosquito curtains, seven shirts, two pairs of sheets, four towels, white Jeans to make two vests, four pocket handkerchiefs, and six pairs of thread stockings so that Samuel would be elegantly accoutered.²⁷

Colleagues described Samuel Cabell as an impatient man, impetuous in battle. He was calm and collected only when he was leading his men in an attack.²⁸ Cabell must have been very frustrated at the helpless position of his forces. The Battle of Charleston was a futile resistance for the Amherst men from the

beginning. By April 1, British grenadiers had cut off approaches by land and English frigates crossed the sand bar by Fort Moultrie to seal off communications by water. The British unleashed a fierce bombardment of April 13 and forced the Virginians into negotiations. Finally on May 12, the garrison surrendered. Some 2,500 glum Continentals and 2,200 militiamen marched out with their colors encased. They handed over to General Clinton vast quantities of supplies. The worst defeat of the Continentals in the Revolution had annihilated the Southern army, stripped Virginia of its best trained men, and laid the road open to North Carolina and beyond.

The Amherst prisoners were generally well treated. Officers were allowed to continue the lifestyle to which they had become accustomed. Some were paroled or exchanged. Captain Benjamin Taliaferro, who had served as a partisan officer with Henry Lee, was paroled home. John Jordan was exchanged and joined General Wayne in Georgia late in the war.²⁹ The British refused to release Samuel Jordan Cabell and imprisoned him for fourteen months. Virginia authorities were allowed to send periodic provisions to the men. William Cabell was again active and dispatched George Gillespie on September 24, 1780, with 26 1/2 pistoles, one coat, six shirts, three pairs of silk stockings, and three pairs of thread, along with a letter.³⁰ Commerical agent David Ross of Virginia outfitted a number of ships to bring supplies to the prisoners.

Governor Thomas Jefferson wrote all of the county lieutenants on March 26, 1781, requesting that they supply any items available with wagons and drivers for the relief of the Virginia captives. The deputy for the provision law was responsible in Amherst for collecting the materials.³¹ The British finally decided to parole Cabell and notified Colonel William that his son would be released from Haddrell's Point, South Carolina. On August 15, 1781, the colonel's slave Harry was sent to Hanover with horses to meet Samuel. Late in August the younger Cabell returned home to Amherst. Under the conditions of the parole, Samuel was barred from further military service. He thus sat out the Yorktown campaign. It was an anticlimactic ending to a superb war record, but Samuel was compensated for his earlier efforts with a bounty of 7,000 acres in the West.³²

Virginian and Continental authorities scrambled desperately to repair the setback of Charleston. In May 1780, 5,000 men were drafted by Virginia into six battalions for the aid of North Carolina. Colonel Porterfield's Garrison Regiment of cavalry and artillery was also mobilized. Further recruits from Amherst marched south. Captain Azariah Martin's company of the First Amherst Battalion served with James Lucas's 4th Regiment.³³ The hero of Saratoga, Horatio Gates, was appointed commander of the southern Department in June. Clinton returned to New York with some of the British forces but left Lord Cornwallis in command of the southern theater to reduce the southern states. Colonel Banastre Tarleton's cavalry moved rapidly through the hinterland of South Carolina and captured whatever stray American forces remained in the field. At Waxhaws, he butchered 113 men, many in the process of surrendering. John Kippers, Sr., of Amherst suffered two bayonet wounds, but lived to tell the story of the battle.³⁴ Frederick Padgett was captured twice by Tarleton, once at Waxhaws.³⁵ Sergeant William Higginbotham was also taken prisoner in the Carolinas.³⁶ The massacre at Waxhaws instilled in the Americans a strong loathing for Tarleton and coined the expression "Tarleton's Quarter" to refer to the murder of prisoners.

Although Tarleton remained a nemesis to Virginians until Yorktown, he was not always so brutal. Alexander Brown relates the story of an encounter between Tarleton and Captain Jack Carter. Carter was the oldest son of Robert Carter of "Blenheim" and the grandson of Secretary John Carter who owned a Piney river estate. He had studied in England with Tarleton as a classmate. Carter was captured in one of the English raids and brought to the cavalryman's tent. Incredulous after discovering who his quarry was, Tarleton exclaimed, "Well, Jack, do you not think that you are one of the biggest fools in all the Southern Colonies? You are the oldest son of Robert Carter, in arms against your King, and fighting against your own inheritance -- why, what were you thinking of?" Carter responded, "You know that we are all creatures of circumstance, and even if I had viewed the subject in the light you suggest, it would perhaps have been an idle thought." Tarleton amiably answered, "Possibly -- at all events, we will drink a bumper to our mutual good

health, and you will dine with me to-day." After a comfortable captivity, Carter was exchanged and lived to soften Tarleton's harsh reputation.³⁷

Tarleton and Cornwallis proceeded to seize the garrisons Ninety-Six and Camden in South Carolina. Gates bungled an assault on Camden on August 16, 1780, and managed to destroy another Southern army. The Virginia militia were thoroughly routed when Colonel Porterfield's regiment scattered. Azariah Martin lost at least eleven of his 48 soldiers. Private James Hopkins roundly excoriated the performance of the American command: "There was no place designated in the event of defeat at which we should rendezvous; we lost all our baggage and were destitute of any clothing except what little we had on; separated from our officers and no means of subsistence."³⁸ Hopkins and many others returned to Amherst in great disorder. Private Matthew Height escaped the carnage by hiding in the swamps. Edmund Davis (1736-1835?) had been captured at Charleston and escaped, was not imprisoned again, but Davis managed to free himself.³⁹ The other patriot forces fled to Hillsboro, North Carolina, traveling 150 miles in ten days.

Cornwallis was delayed attending to his sick and by other logistical problems. Unable to move north until September 8, he was immediately hamstrung by the defeat of Major Ferguson and his Tory brigade at King's Mountain on October 7. The British were forced to retreat to Charleston and plot another strategy. The Quaker Nathaniel Greene replaced Gates and attempted to regroup his dispersed army. Virginia counties were ordered to supply a total of 5,000 barrels of flour for the relief of the southern troops. The Amherst fugitives were tried by a court of inquiry at the courthouse and ordered to return to North Carolina for eight months of additional service. Captain Pamplin commanded the march back to Hillsboro and left the delinquents in a Culpeper unit. They eventually reached Cedar Hills, South Carolina, on January 1, 1781. Captain Young Landrum's Amherst militia company also served in North Carolina in 1780, but was discharged by the end of the year. Virginia manpower requirement were further strained by the expiration of the three-year Continental enlistments of 1777. Americans, Virginians, and the people of Amherst were happy to bid

adieu to the catastrophic year of 1780.

Slowly, Nathaniel Greene managed to recreate an army. More units of the Virginia militia were called out for provisional musters of 18 months. Two temporary battalions under colonels John Green and Samuel Hawes joined the Southern Army at Hillsboro. Once again, Amherst rallied to the call for more soldiers. James Franklin's company and Young Landrum with thirty men were summoned in February 1781 to join General Greene. Scepticism abounded concerning the wisdom of the southern campaign. Many viewed southern assignment as merely providing additional cannon fodder. Nevertheless, the Amherst troops assembled at Stovall's Ferry. They headed to Moore's Ordinary in Prince Edward en route to the Southern Army on the Dan River.⁴⁰ Daniel Morgan and Light-Horse Harry Lee used the Virginia troops to harass the flanks and communications of Cornwallis. Daniel Morgan set out against Ninety-Six and was met by Tarleton at Cowpens on January 16, 1781. Much to the surprise of the British Dragoons, they were bested by Morgan and William Washington's Virginia cavalry. Tarleton retreated with heavy losses.

Cornwallis set out after the American marauders and Nathaniel Green retreated to cover his riflemen. This launched the celebrated "Race to the Dan" in which Greene withdrew all of his men to Virginia without being snared by Cornwallis. Other Amherst troops remained at Cedar Hills where they ground meal and flour for the use of the army. Some were discharged in February and returned home. The rest were ordered to follow the army northward with 400 hogs and some ten wagons loaded with meal. After various circumlocutions, they reached a commissary store in Mecklenburg, Virginia, and delivered their supplies. Threadbare and fatigued, the Amherst men successfully petitioned for discharge in March.⁴¹ Cornwallis was also exhausted by his unsuccessful pursuit and returned to Hillsboro. Greene picked up additional reinforcements in Virginia. He decided to abandon his Fabian tactics in favor of a formal battle.

The Americans aggressively gave battle at Guilford Court House on March 15. Cornwallis gained a pyrrhic victory as he held the field, but suffered enormous losses in so doing. James Franklin's

company literally provided an epilogue for the engagement. The captain poorly handled his logistics and arrived too late to aid the Continentals. Many of his men claimed that they were close enough to hear the din of battle. Franklin was cashiered for negligence and replaced as captain by Young Landrum.⁴² The company was subsequently discharged at Deep River. Cornwallis meanwhile withdrew to Wilmington, demoralized by his fruitless North Carolina campaigns. The general decided to link up with British raiding parties in Virginia. Accordingly, he reached Petersburg on May 10 and left forces in the deep South in a holding operation.

The British under Lord Rawdon scored two narrow victories over Greene's Continentals at Hobskirk's Hill near Camden (April 25) and at Eutaw Springs (September 8). The redcoats were spread far too thin to exploit these victories and were forced to withdraw to a Charleston-Savannah perimeter. Some Amherst soldiers remained with the Continentals, including Thomas Bibee, Samuel Camp, and John Jones in the cavalry. William Jones saw some action against the South Carolina Tories. Without support, the Indian allies of the British were crushed: the Cherokees in 1780 and the Creeks in 1782. The Spanish and French became venturesome as British strength in the South waned. The Spanish seized West Florida in May 1781 and even advanced into the Northwest Territory. The French fleet of Admiral de Grasse neutralized the English in the Caribbean and followed Cornwallis into the Chesapeake area.

Following Yorktown, the Continental forces gradually disintegrated in the South. By early 1783, there was chaos in the Southern Department with half of William Washington's dragoon deserting en masse. Most of the remaining troops were furloughed in June. The Southern Department itself was disbanded on November 15, 1783. The British evacuation of Charleston in December 1782 removed the last potentially hostile forces in the South. Many Amherst soldiers received warrants for bounty land in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and the far southern frontier. They settled in areas they had seen won with the blood of fellow Amherst residents. Aided by these Amherst pioneers and other immigrants, people in the South gradually resumed patterns of life interrupted by the sudden and furious onslaught of war.

Campaigning in Virginia: The Eye of the Storm 1777-1780

Between January 1776 and January 1781, probably some 1,200 Amherst men served in the Continental forces and the Virginia militia.⁴³ Throughout 1781 many soldiers were called out on emergency duty; other supplied provisions.⁴⁴ Almost all able-bodied men were impressed into Revolutionary service in 1781. As the threat of war receded after Yorktown, Amherst militia enrollments dropped dramatically in 1782 and 1783.

The county justices of the peace recommended the appointment of all officers from the rank of ensign to the rank of colonel. The governor and the Council of State usually ratified those nominated in pro forma proceedings. The militia units were organized into companies under the command of captains. All of the militia remained under the control of the county lieutenants, who combined civilian and military authority. The military ranking of members of the militia was roughly determined by their social status in civilian life.

James a Nevil succeeded Colonel William Cabell as county lieutenant in 1777. He commanded militia companies that included those of captains Joseph Crews, Roderick McCulloch (1741-1826),⁴⁵ and James Dillard. Joseph Cabell served as county executive in 1778 and promoted a rapid expansion of the militia. Seven new militia companies were formed in 1778 under the command of captains John Christian, Henry Christian, William Harris, William Martin, David Shelton, Charles Burras, James Pamplin, John Loving, Jr., and Richard Ballenger. John Rose was named ranking field officer, with Lieutenant Colonel James Higginbotham and Major Alexander Reid serving on his staff. Some thirty ensigns, 2nd lieutenants, and 1st lieutenants were also appointed. In 1779, James Matthews, Philip Thurmond, and Azariah Martin qualified as captains along with seven subordinate officers.⁴⁶

Hugh Rose replaced Joseph Cabell as county lieutenant in 1780 and presided over a reorganization of the militia. The county was divided into two battalions, corresponding to geographical lines. Colonel Nicholas Cabell⁴⁷ commanded the first, consisting of men from Amherst Parish, basically coterminous with modern Nelson

County. Captains in the unit included John Loving, Jr., Patrick Rose, John Diggs, Young Landrum, John Jacobs, William Harris, Azariah Martin, James Pamplin, and David Shelton. Daniel Gaines officered the Second Battalion, drawn from Lexington Parish (modern Amherst County), with ten companies: those of captains Ambrose Rucker, David Woodroof, Samuel Christian, John Christian, and Richard Ballenger. John B. Hill and Benjamin Rucker also qualified as captains. Patrick Rose and Ambrose Rucker were each ranked as lieutenant colonel, while Gabriel Penn and John Pope, Jr., were promoted to major. Fifteen lower-ranking officers were also selected.⁴⁸

In 1781, Patrick Rose was promoted to colonel of the first Battalion, with Lieutenant Colonel John Pope and Major William Cabell as his subordinates. Joseph Tucker was selected for a captaincy, while six other officers filled other ranks. The following year, William Cabell, Jr., was advanced to rank of lieutenant colonel of the First Battalion and James Pamplin served as major. Lieutenant Colonel Gabriel Penn and John Wiatt staffed the Second Battalion. William Ware and Steven Watts commanded two companies with five newly appointed lower ranking officers assisting. In the final year of the war, 1783, Captain James McAlexander was the only new officer appointed, although recommendation for three other position were not acted upon.⁴⁹

The Amherst militia was periodically ordered throughout the war to supply troops for state needs. Amherst generally raised the needed volunteers, but the state authorized a draft, beginning in May 1777, if quotas were not met. Only single men were subject to the draft. Each member of the militia was required to have a certificate stamped "clear" or "service" for identification. In February 1777 men raised in Amherst joined a battalion under the command of General Edward Stevens. Money was sent by Governor Patrick Henry in April for use in promoting recruitment. Another Amherst company of 100 men was ordered to muster out to combat the threat of the Cherokees.⁵⁰ The subsequent year found Amherst subject to at least two quotas. In June the county was ordered to enlist 47 men and supply them with regulation coats, breeches, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, and one hat. Each recruit was to receive a \$30 bounty. One hundred men were mustered out to

Charlottesville on December 23 to guard the Convention prisoners. The state government supplied Alexander Rose \$35,000 to purchase various supplies.⁵¹

Resistance to recruitment mounted in 1779, so unmarried men were ordered in February to draw lots. Thirty-two men were raised in this fashion. The blow was softened by a bounty of £15 for each.⁵² In the late spring of 1780 Amherst was required to send 135 men for the relief of South Carolina. Manpower needs mounted steadily through the year. Another militia quota was demanded in July. Amherst was divided into fifteen districts and ordered to mobilize one-fifteenth of its troops for state service.⁵³ Governor Jefferson ordered the county to collect wheat for the Albemarle Barracks in August in pursuance of the Provision Law. This was followed by a requisition in September of blankets for the army's use.⁵⁴ In late 1780 another 55 men were ordered up to help meet the British invasion of the state.⁵⁵ As the year closed out, the General Assembly authorized a state-wide quota of 3,000 men to be supplied by the recruiting officers of each state regiment.⁵⁶ Amherst had been well drained by 1781, but even more exorbitant demands were placed on the county in that year.

Dwindling manpower capabilities led Virginia to employ Negroes in the army, but only reluctantly and with great caution. Throughout the war, the danger of slave insurrections threatened to cripple state resistance to the British. An act of May 6, 1777, authorized the enlistment of those blacks and mulattoes who could produce a certificate of freedom signed by a county justice. Some 1,000 free Negroes in Virginia were of military age. Some 5,000 Negroes in the United States served with the patriot forces and perhaps 500 came from Virginia.⁵⁷ Free blacks tended to enlist because they had no choice, being forced in as draft substitutes, or because of the lure of adventure and bounties. Amherst black enlisted men included Stephen Bowles, Thomas Lockett, Zachariah Bowles, and the most honored Negro soldier from Amherst, Shadrick Battles. Other black troopers in the Amherst area who may have had dealings, residences, or relatives in the county included Charles Barnett (b 1769) in the 7th Virginia Regiment, Abraham Goff, Zachariah Goff,

Sherwood Going, Peter Hackett, William Jackson, James Johns, Drury Scott, Johnson Smith, William Tanner, and Luke Valentine.⁵⁸ Peter Hartless, who served from Caroline County in the Revolution and participated in the Virginia campaigns of 1781, moved to Amherst after the Revolution.⁵⁹

While economic problems mounted in Virginia, Amherst soldiers assisted in moving needed supplies. Amherst men transported goods to warehouses and helped smooth out logistical log jams. Joseph Sweeny (1760-1846) served as wagonmaster of a convoy to Richmond in 1778. Captain Samuel Higginbotham appears to have been in charge of Amherst commissary shipments. In 1779, Higginbotham brought various supplies to Richmond. The following year, Colonel Hugh Rose and Samuel Higginbotham superintended a cattle drive to Williamsburg.⁶⁰ Other shipments were made to various state supply centers in 1780, including Richmond, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and New London. Tories threatened many vital economic centers, and Amherst militiamen were called out to suppress them. Amherst companies served far afield in Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, and Wythe counties in rounding up Tory parties. Jesse Walton personally hanged a North Carolina Tory. In various areas, Tories wreaked some havoc, but were suppressed without greatly damaging the state's war effort. Other Amherst companies were sent out to various parts of the state to guard prisoners, man commissary depots, or serve as strategic reserves. James Cottrell (b 1748) served in a detachment that guarded deserters and prisoners moved from Amherst to Williamsburg. Companies engaged in supply and defense work included Captain Ambrose Rucker (1780), Captain John Morrison at Petersburg, Captain Richard Ballenger at Fort Powhatan and Hood's Fort in Prince George County, and Captain John Philips at Williamsburg.⁶¹

George Rogers Clark's Illinois offensive was probably the most primitive, desperate, and heroic campaign Amherst soldiers lent their aid to. The Western War Department was created in 1778 in an attempt to seize the British base of Detroit and put an end to British and Indian adventures against the western frontier. Clark was assigned the task of neutralizing the vast area of the American Northwest. The Virginian assembled a meager force of 150 men in

1778 for the campaign. Few of his soldiers were notified of their destination until they had been in the field for a number of days. Some deserted when they heard the news. In a surprise attack Clark captured some French towns and the British depot of Kaskaskia. The British managed to hold on to Detroit. Another American force was set in motion northward under Brigadier General McIntosh. These troops headed through Rockfish Gap to Fort Cumberland. They constructed two bases along the Ohio, Forts McIntosh and Defiance. William Camm (b. 1757), an emigrant from Maryland to Amherst, served with a force that also built Fort Hambleton (?), some thirty miles between Pittsburgh and Muskingum. While there, he helped logistically with pack horses. John Childress (b. 1759) drove cattle to Illinois, where they were sold at Muddy Creek. George Taylor (b. 1762) returned to Amherst unscathed in 1778, but George Key had a much rougher experience. After reaching Strawberry Point, Illinois, he returned home but had to eat two horses to survive.⁶²

Some Amherst soldiers remained while Clark tried to solidify his control over the area. In 1779 the Americans seized Vincennes and English governor Henry Hamilton. This delivered a major blow to British interests. The redcoats remained in Detroit, however, and the contest in the northwest continued a standoff until the end of the war. The rudiments of civil administration were established in the meantime, and Illinois became a Virginia county. Late in the war, the territory was ceded to the federal government. Preoccupied with other matters, the state government sent little assistance to its imperial outpost. George Rogers Clark repeatedly complained that not only did he not have enough supplies to maintain his slender foothold, but that he had also not heard from Governor Patrick Henry in over a year.

Beset by the British, Indians, insubordinate officers, and corruption, Clark was forced to withdraw to Fort Jefferson in 1780.⁶³ One of those who remained with Clark to the end was the Amherst minister, Reverend Ichabod Camp. He was possibly the first Episcopalian minister to officiate at the banks of the Mississippi. Why Camp left for Illinois is something of a mystery, but he obviously intended to settle permanently and did raise his family in the area. However beneficial Episcopalian services may have been

for the Mississippi inhabitants, Camp's departure from Amherst resulted in a historio-graphical disaster for that county. The good reverend removed all of the early parish records, leaving a major gap in Amherst social and religious history. Camp deposited the records in parts unknown.⁶⁴

The Indians continued to bother regions closer to Virginia. Captain Christian's expedition with Amherst men against the Cherokees was only partially effective. The murder of the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk in 1778 once again inflamed the frontier. Captain John Trent summoned the Amherst militia out to the Holston River and inflicted a major defeat on the Indians. John Cash (1757-1836) fought the Cherokees at Fort Chiswill. Colonel Nicholas Cabell also fought a campaign against the Cherokees. Alexander Reid (b. 1752) reported in his pension application that he had participated in a victory at the Great Kanawha.⁶⁵ The Indian menace remained present throughout the war, but Amherst County itself was never molested.

The state of affairs in the adjacent counties of Albemarle, Augusta, Rockbridge, Buckingham, and Bedford was of greater concern to Amherst than either the Illinois country or the Indians. Tory subversives were prevalent in Augusta and Bedford, while Rockbridge experienced riots against the draft laws. At time in 1777 and 1780, the stability of some of these counties was imperiled.⁶⁶ The Amherst militia were called out on a number of occasions to patrol their neighboring counties. James Harrison and other spent much of their time in the service keeping the Tories in check.⁶⁷ Most of the Amherst militia called out served in Albemarle which though it had no Tory problems, did contain the prison camp of the British and Hessian troops, the Convention prisoners, at the Albemarle Barracks.⁶⁸ The prisoners were guarded by a regiment from January 1779 to June 1781. A state regiment was originally formed for a one year garrison duty, but later the Continental army assumed jurisdiction,. Through 1780, quite a few Amherst soldiers served garrison duty, including the companies of captains Ambrose Rucker, Richard Taliaferro (13 men), James Barnett, John Sale, David Woodroof, Richard Ballenger, John Loving, Jr., Clough Shelton, David Shelton, Charles Burras, William Harris, John Christian, John Higginbotham (1726-1814), and captains Jacobs and Pamplin.

Captain James Garland, Jr., was killed accidentally by a sentry while on duty.⁶⁹ Lieutenant Colonel James Higginbotham (1729-1813) was acting commander of the regiment in 1779. Colonel William Fontaine also briefly commanded the garrison.

Life was almost better for the British and Hessian prisoners than for their captors. In June 1778 the garrison was reprimanded for allowing the prisoners to buy horses since the Continentals were suffering from a shortage of steeds. The British were forced to dispose of their mounts. Enemy officers were given great freedom of movement in Albemarle until threats of rescue arose. The officers were then ordered back to the Barracks.⁷¹ American commanders kept up a steady refrain of complaints concerning lack of provisions for their own men. Although Virginia was ordered to support the Convention troops as part of its 1780 quota, little aid was forthcoming. Wagon shipments never seemed to provide sufficient supplies. In late 1779 the size of the regiment had to be reduced for lack of food and material. On the other hand, Amherst resident complained that despite generous extension of credit to the troops, they were being unfairly taxed by the state debt collectors. The latter were refusing to accept certificates of credit obtained from the Barracks. Amherst citizens argued that they supplied the soldiers at very reasonable rates, including corn at £25 per barrel, and wagons for hire at £16 instead of the customary £20.⁷²

Due to financial hardship and the real possibility of rescue, the Continental authorities decided to remove the prisoners and the garrison to Maryland. Hudson Martin was sent from Amherst on December 28, 1780, to Richmond to help make arrangements. By December 31, most of the prisoners were well ensconced in Maryland. Generally, relations between guards, county residents, and prisoners were good. Amherst soldier Andrew Wright (1748-1816), who helped supervise wagon supplies to the Barracks, even invited several British officers to witness his marriage to Lucy Childress in 1779.⁷³

Even though the Revolutionary drama largely occurred elsewhere, Amherst County itself was the scene of noncombatant military activities. On February 7, 1777, a seven-man detachment was formed to guard the Tidewater Tories Goodrich, Cunningham, and

Parker at the courthouse jail. Captain Ford bivouacked for three months at Arrington Station in 1779 to prevent possible Indian encroachment. Richard Bond (d. 1837) was an orderly at New Glasgow on a scouting party. William Walton (b. 2757) was drafted in 1779 to pack wheat at Cabell's and Steven's Mills for processing at the granary located in Loving's Gap. Walton complained that his effectiveness was hampered because carriages could not get through the mountains to unload the grain. He further grumbled that he was never paid for his services.⁷⁴ William Cabell, Jr., (1759-1827), helped his father in county military matters and supervised the cataloguing and export of provisions in 1780. At least two other military units did garrison duty in the county, one under Captain James Dillard at the courthouse and another officered by Colonel Gaines at New Glasgow.⁷⁵

Amherst was a bustling county throughout the Revolution. Stockpiles were assembled and shipped, militia units were called out and discharged, and express messengers brought the latest news from battle fronts and council chambers. Elation mixed freely with grief as the same reports often simultaneously related American triumphs and deaths or capture of relatives. Retired and disabled soldiers were plentiful and regaled the community with real and imagined stories of combat heroism. Among these discharged soldiers living in Amherst in 1780 was Thomas Jones, a friend of Thomas Jefferson. He had retired to his family seat of Jonesboro near Roseland to recuperate from a wound suffered in the northern campaign. Like other ill veterans with time on their hands, Jones amused the local children and their parents with a complete repertoire of stories about Brandywine and Germantown.⁷⁶

Campaigning in Virginia: Final Victory

Lieutenant Colonel Graves Simcoe ushered in the new year marching to burn Richmond. On New Year's Day, one-fourth of the total Amherst militia was called out to meet the threat. Hugh Rose wrote to Colonel George Muter on January 8 that he hoped to hasten the militia muster.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the summons arrived too late to aid Richmond, as Simcoe plundered the city and wreaked havoc on the Westham Foundry on the fifth. The remaining military supplies

were moved inland to the Point of Fork on the confluence of the Rivanna and the James, and to stations near Milton in Albemarle. By January 19, the Amherst militia of some 224 men set out from Rockfish Gap. Within ten days, they found that they had embarked on a futile expedition. Baron von Steuben, who had replaced Muhlenberg as commander of the Virginia forces, discharged the Amherst troops on the twenty-ninth, claiming he could not adequately supply them. Disappointed after undergoing a crisis mobilization, the soldiers returned home but remained on alert.

Bad news continued to pour in through January. On the eighth, George Rogers Clark wrote of the desperate plight at Fort Jefferson and stated he could not hold the Illinois country without relief. The Cherokees also seized the opportunity to harass the frontier, Colonel Nicholas Cabell promptly marched the county militia against them.⁸⁰ The General Assembly convened on the twenty-third and invoked a number of draconian measures to deal with the invasion. An embargo was placed on all provisions to conserve counties and form brigades of ten. The standard military hire was set at 50 pounds of tobacco per day for each team. William Loving was appointed the Amherst clerk for provisions. But the need for information was of greatest concern to Amherst leaders. Hugh Rose wrote Colonel Mutter: "We beg for news, as we are in a land of darkness, heaving heard nothing since the 11th instant."

With the unsettled state of affairs in Virginia, Colonel William Cabell objected to the dispatch of Amherst militia only to "meander" in the North Carolina campaign. He glumly watched Young Landrum's company depart for Guilford Courthouse.⁸³ Colonel Daniel Gaines was not so pessimistic and requested that von Steuben give him an active command in Amherst with forage and rations.⁸⁴ Eventually, supplies were found for an additional militia quota, and the Amherst troops were summoned again. This time the Amherst men were somewhat slower in assembling, and Governor Jefferson complained about their tardiness. At the end of May they finally rendezvoused at Charlottesville.⁸⁵ Amherst morale was lifted appreciably by news that the Articles of Confederation had been ratified by all the states in March. Along with this welcome news came reports of the American victory at Cowpens. General Morgan marched a number of

the British prisoners from Cowpens to the Tye River where an Amherst outfit met them. A number of the captives continued to work and live in Amherst and the rest were escorted to permanent encampment at Winchester.⁸⁶ A number of South Carolina patriots arrived in the county about the same time to seek refuge from the war.

State officials continued their efforts military reorganization, but there were precious few Virginia Continentals left to work with. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Dabney assumed overall command of the remnants of the 1st and 2nd State Infantry, the cavalry, artillery, and garrison regiments. Colonel Febiger led the other Continentals, a mere battalion. Alexander Spotswood formed a legion in March, but these state forces saw little action until Yorktown. Two veteran but exhausted Amherst companies petitioned for relief in March at Hampton. Lieutenant Colonel Dabney took up their request with Governor Jefferson. He urged these outfits, "which have been so long on duty...and performed well," be discharged because a lack of shoes and clothing left home unprepared for active service.⁸⁷ During this lull in the war, a prisoner exchange was arranged. Colonel Hugh Rose was ordered to bring prisoners from the court house to Jamestown., Deserters who had been apprehended in Amherst were delivered to New London.

A number of supplies were stockpiled in Amherst in the spring and summer as a safeguard against capture by the British. A new quartermaster system was established, with Amherst first being assigned to the Charlottesville district and later to the Carter's Ferry grouping. Major Reid Claiborne supervised the district. Captain Charles Russell was established in the Amherst area with his main depot at old Albemarle Court House later Scottsville. Colonel Joseph Cabell on May 31 supplied six canoes, several wagons, and three hands. A company of negro boatmen were established as pilots on the James between Buckingham and Amherst to transport commissary supplies. Each canoe held ten to twelve men and a white overseer.⁸⁹

In May 1781, Cornwallis entered Virginia with the main English force of 5,000 men. Lafayette arrived to parry his thrusts with American forces.

The marquis had no more than 2,000 Continentals and Baron Steuben commanded only 500 at Point of Fork. Lafayette obviously did not have enough to engage in a major battle. His force dwindled even further at harvest time. Lafayette issued pleas to the county lieutenants for six-month recruits and received some aid from Amherst. In any case, Lafayette did not have long to tarry. Cornwallis chased him out of Richmond on May 27. Charlottesville and Staunton were successively proclaimed temporary capitals of the state. The General Assembly arrived in Charlottesville on May 24. Thomas Jefferson ordered on May 31 that Lafayette should deploy 200 militia at Rockfish Gap on reserve,⁹⁰ and protect the upland commissary stores as best he could. On June 1 Cornwallis gave up his pursuit of the Americans but dispatched Simcoe and Tarleton against the supply depots. This spread great alarm through Amherst as it appeared that the winds of war might fall on the county itself with hurricane force.

The actual campaign did not proceed beyond Albemarle and Prince Edward. yet, events moved faster than communication, and in the panic atmosphere any destination seemed possible. Simcoe's objective was the Point of Fork arsenal. Steuben withdrew his troops and as much weaponry as possible. Simcoe still managed to acquire quite a haul, including 2,500 guns, gunpowder, sixty hogsheads of rum and brandy and some large artillery pieces. Destroying most of what he could not carry off, Simcoe left the arsenal on June 5. David Ross never completely recovered from the loss of his financial investment in the arsenal. The dragoons remained in the area for several days, reaching Bremo and Seven Islands, only eight miles from Old Albemarle Court House on June 9. Tarleton made a lightning strike against Charlottesville on June 4 and 5. Most of the General Assembly managed to escape, but a few members were apprehended. Governor Jefferson had only a slight jump on the British and left Monticello in great haste. Tarleton's men briefly held the mountain estate, but only disturbed the wine cellar.⁹¹

Colonel William Cabell rode furiously from Charlottesville to Union Hill. Local tradition maintains that Jefferson and a number of other legislators came to the mansion on June 5 as their first stop

on the run.⁹² True or not, Jefferson most certainly crossed through the county en route to his Bedford home at Poplar Forest.⁹³ Although within fifteen miles of the county lines, Tarleton did not chase his quarry any further into Amherst. He rejoined Cornwallis below Point of Fork on June 7. The British commander on June 9 put Tarleton in the field again to raid the stores at old Albemarle Court House and "destroy all the enemy's stores and tobacco between the James River and the Dan."⁹⁴ Problems in communication and geography prevented either Tarleton or Simcoe from reaching the old court house, New Glasgow, or New London. By the thirteenth Lafayette and von Steuben had cut off further access to Amherst.

While Tarleton's and Simcoe's destinations remained a mystery, Amherst took full precautions to mobilize the county. Hugh Rose wrote to William Cabell, Jr., on June 9 that he should group the militia at Key's Gap: "For the security of those stores, our force must be employed. No zealous Whig will refuse to turn out on such an occasion...In the woods and such defiles as we have, a few musquet men will be an overmatch for any number of Horse...If the people have arms and ammunition let them bring them on..Do not alarm the People but rather encourage to activity by representing the prospect as sure, if they are zealous and spirited."⁹⁵

Lafayette's forces continued to grow, joined by General Stevens and Colonel Febiger, and by the eleventh the marquis had gathered 4,000 troops, more than enough to intimidate Simcoe and Tarleton. Acting Governor William Fleming wrote the Amherst county lieutenant on June 12 to send urgently one-half of the county's militia to join Lafayette.⁹⁶ During Jefferson's absence, Thomas Nelson was elected the new governor at Staunton, on June 12. He proceeded immediately to administer the state with a strong and steady hand. Jefferson claimed later that the General Assembly had almost voted for a dictator, but tough measure were required to restore the peoples' confidence in the state's ability to protect them. The conservative political faction of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Carter Braxton used the raids as justifications for their policy of centralized, elite leadership. Stringent measures commenced immediately. Because of the large reinforcements Lafayette had received, Amherst and other areas within a forty mile

radius of Albemarle were ordered on June 13 to collect gunpowder from every home.⁹⁷ Seeing no further opportunities for lucrative raids in the west, Cornwallis decided to withdraw and reached Williamsburg on June 18. Lafayette's forces had already begun shadowing him east. Colonel Daniel Gaines tried to muster a number of the militia to join Lafayette. On June 23, he asked William Cabell, Jr., to help with the deployment: "I am exceedingly concerned at the Tardiness of our Militia. I have done, & shall continue to do everything in my power to bring them to a sense of their duty; towards which nothing, I believe, will contribute so much as the Court Martial to be held on Monday next."⁹⁸

Major William Cabell commanded the Amherst troops joining the American army and served in General Steven's brigade. The draft was considerably sweetened by an act of the General Assembly which gave to militia forces the same, albeit depreciated, salary received by the Continentals. By the end of September, unfortunately, paper money ceased to circulate because of its worthlessness.

Even at a distance Tarleton's raiders continued to worry the Amherst patriots. Hugh Rose wrote to Major Cabell on July 24, following a trip to Bedford, that he had heard reports of Tarleton's imminent arrival at the powder magazine in New Glasgow. In the meantime Captain John Loving was ordered to court marital all deserters and delinquents.⁹⁹ Other contingents of Amherst troops were mustered on July 25 and in August. Governor Nelson wrote that he hoped the militia could now be effectively mobilized since the harvest season had ended.¹⁰⁰

After the military threat had receded to the east, Amherst busied itself with procuring supplies for the army. By August, the Point of Fork arsenal renewed operation and advertised for artificers in Amherst.¹⁰¹ Deputy Quartermaster Charles Russell recommended that whiskey for the troops be distilled from rye in Amherst since there were good prospects for a large crop. Others from the quartermaster's department complained that their efforts in behalf of the army were met with rank ingratitude. J. Patillo plaintively begged for clothes for himself: "When a man is destitute of money,

clothing and friends; he is in my opinion the object of pity." Patillo never did receive any clothing as was regarded by Colonel Febiger with scorn: "Patillo made a tolerable Sergeant but a very Indolent Commissary."¹⁰²

Provisions and men continued to swell the ranks of the American forces. After terrifying the western counties, Cornwallis found himself a victim of circumstances. The earl withdrew his forces to a final bastion, Yorktown, which he thought could be more easily defended. Still, he developed no coherent strategy to relieve his growing predicament. Admiral de Grasse arrived from the West Indies to close any sea escape for the British. Washington, who once thought the Revolution would be determined in a decisive campaign west of Amherst in the Shenandoah Valley, now believed that he could end the war once and for all by capturing Cornwallis's force in its entirety. Joined by the French under Rochambeau, Washington moved south from New York with the bulk of his army in late August. Unaware of the impending climax, some Amherst troops were discharged at Malvern Hills outside of Richmond and returned home. The French fleet established mastery of the seas off the Virginia capes, and the Continental army arrived in Williamsburg on September 14. More Amherst troops reached the army on that date. An Amherst officer named McNeece deserted his men as the troops were preparing for battle. After they had won the skirmish, the men derisively named the area "McNeece Parade Field."¹⁰³ On the twenty-eighth the Americans left Williamsburg and blocked Cornwallis's last avenue of escape.

Virginia was responsible for the provision of some 18,000 men before Yorktown. The produce to supply the troops cost approximately \$10,000 a day. Amherst supplied quite a bit of material, but distribution was hampered by logjams and inefficiency. Captain Russell complained that there was a shortage of vehicles to transport the supplies from New Glasgow. Even rations at the Albemarle Barracks had to be reduced further on October 2. Much of the beef those troops received was inedible. Samuel Dyer claimed on October 11 that Captain Russell was himself to blame for most problems. Dyer charged that Russell had wasted state supplies at New Glasgow. Dyer cited as an example that Russell could have used coarse cloth instead of fine nun's lace to

bind goods.¹⁰⁴ Before the log jam and carping were resolved, the matter became academic with the capitulation of Cornwallis.

Washington now outnumbered Cornwallis by better than two to one. Units with Amherst soldiers included Lieutenant Colonel Edward Carrington's Virginians of General Henry Knox's artillery brigade, Armand's Legion, Lafayette's Light Infantry, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Gaskins's Virginia troops of Baron von Steuben's division. Governor Thomas Nelson commanded the 3,200 Virginia militia, including the brigades of George Weedon, Robert Lawson, and Edward Stevens. Febiger's and Dabney's Virginians also participated in the siege. General Steven's regiment contained the most Amherst men. Amherst militia companies were those of Pamplin, Diggs, Montgomery, James Barnett, John Stewart, Benjamin Higginbotham, John Loving John Morrison and William Tuckers. Colonel Meriwether's unit, seconded by Major Samuel Higginbotham, was unable to reach Yorktown from Henry County before the battle ended. Captain Woodroof commanded Amherst men in this regiment.¹⁰⁵

Amherst residents served with note in the campaign. Nicholas Cabell was attached to Lafayette's staff. Colonel Joseph Cabell, then living in Buckingham, led a militia regiment. His son, Joseph Jr. (1762-1831), and Landon Cabell, age 16, served in a company composed exclusively of William and Mary students. Robert Rives, age 17, volunteered as a private from Essex County.¹⁰⁶ George Phillips, an emigrant from France, served with the French army even though he had enlisted from Amherst. Other Amherst soldiers at Yorktown included the following: George Purvis (1757-1831), Micajah Frazier (b. 1753), John Alford (1760-1837), Samuel Arrington (1762-1849), William Bailey (1756-1837), Edward Bowling (1744-1833), Zachariah Brant (b. 1765), Henry Campbell (1750-1838), Benjamin Carpenter (b. 1754), and John Childress (b. 1759). Also, Charles Eads (1755-1833), Samuel Franklin (b. 1762), Josiah Giles (1756-1837), John Hall, Sr. (1746-1837), Richard Hare, Sr., (1750-1842; born in Great Britain), William Hartless (b. 1754), John Jones (b. 1760), Austin Knight (d. 1817), Joseph Layne (1756-1846), and Benjamin Mays (1757-1851?) also saw service. Others present were James Peters (1766-1823), John Royalty (1759-1844),

Joseph Sweeny (1760-1846), John Tyler (b. 1830), John Upshaw (1755-1834), William Via (1751-1849), and Moses Waters (b. 1761). Some blacks served in the army and others from Amherst gave logistical support. Negro wagoner Will accompanied Captain Tucker's company.¹⁰⁷

Siege operations began October 6, and a parallel set of work close to Cornwallis's inner defenses was constructed on October 11. The Virginia troops helped take two British redoubts on October 15. Governor Nelson ordered that the American siege artillery first on his own home in Yorktown; a gesture that increased his wide-spread popularity among the troops. Nelson supposedly remarked to Lafayette: "Fire upon it, my dear Marquis, and never spare a particle of my property so long as it affords a comfort or a shelter to the enemies of my country."¹⁰⁸

Nelson (1738-1789) remained a heroic figure to all the Revolutionary veterans for both his political and military service. He had been born into a powerful merchant family at Yorktown and was educated in England, where he received a B. A. at Cambridge. From 1761-1775, he represented York County in the House of Burgesses. Nelson was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Nelson never recovered either his health or his finances after the Revolution and had to sell more than 600 of his family's 700 slaves. He died in relative poverty in Hanover County, but Amherst patriots immortalized him bestowing his name on the new county of Nelson in 1807.¹⁰⁹

The efforts of Nelson and his Virginians rebuffed Cornwallis's last attempt to break out in an attack against the center of the patriot forces on October 15. Resigned to his doom, Cornwallis entered into negotiations and surrendered on October 19. Colonel William Fontaine of Amherst was one of the first to describe the surrender to his countrymen: "I had the happiness to see the British Army which so lately spread dismay and desolation through all our Country, march forth on the 20th instant, at 3-o'clock, thro our whole army, drawn up in two lines, at about twenty yards distance, & return disrobed of all their terrors, so humbled & so struck at the appearance of our Troops, that their knees seemed to tremble, and you could not see a platoon that marched in any order . Such a noble

figure did our army make, that I scarce know which drew my attention most. ...I do not think they (the British) at all exceeded in appearance our own, or the French. The latter, you maybe assured, are very different from the ideas formerly inculcated in us, of people living on frogs and coarse vegetables...His Lordship's defense, I think, was rather feeble...A flagship is allowed Cornwallis, to carry him to New York, thence I believe he goes home...They (the British) marched out with drums muffled and colors furled and crossed...I certainly embark for Europe the soonest a passage can be had...though I believe I shall be forced to take the West Indies in the way and probably may winter there."¹¹⁰

While Fontaine was enjoying the Caribbean climate, the British rank and file were marched to Winchester. There, a number of Amherst soldiers who had not already been released, were discharged.¹¹¹

Amherst greeted the news of Yorktown with the celebration of the century. Colonel William Cabell noted in his diary: "October 29, 1781. Killed my stag and invited the company to rejoice over the surrender of Cornwallis and his army." Everyone knew that Yorktown effectively ended the war, but the final peace treaty was not ratified for some two years. In the interval, Amherst remained on reduced military alert while the American forces gradually dwindled from inactivity. By 1784, less than 100 men belonged to the American Army. November 27, 1782 was proclaimed a day of solemn thanksgiving in honor of the victory and in memory of the fallen. By August 1784, the final ratification procedures of the treaty had been completed. When the news reached Amherst, the county was informed that it now belonged to an internationally recognized sovereign state.

After ten years of armed struggle, carrying Amherst citizens from Quebec in the north to Florida in the south, and from Detroit in the west to the Caribbean, peace reunited these far-flung people from their travels. The county had yet to cope with problems disguised by the war or new ones created by it.

CHAPTER X

LIFE ON THE HOME FRONT: AMHERST IN THE CRITICAL PERIOD 1777-1788

The Revolution heralded a number of important changes for Amherst society. Some became immediately apparent in the restructuring of the county's political and economic life. Other transformations were seen more clearly by later descendents than by the Revolutionary generation. The indirect effects of the struggle were equally significant. The mobilization of all classes of society on behalf of the war effort and the opening of a vast and alluring new western frontier of settlement would cause seismic disturbances for a county that, in the span of one generation, had evolved from an open frontier itself into a fairly rigid hierarchical community.

These changes not only contributed to the progressive development of Amherst society and to shifts in the outlook of the community, but also shaped the ongoing discussion of the meaning of the Revolution itself. Even before the guns had been stilled, various interest groups aimed to legitimize their own particular vision of the future as the natural fulfillment of Revolutionary values. If the Revolution had been waged to implement the hoary rhetorical ideals of liberty, democracy, and sovereignty, it soon became apparent that the Treaty of Paris had only shifted the geography of the debate. Far from establishing a consensus on these matters, the peace simply raised the stakes involved. It remained for another generation, fighting a far bloodier conflict, to determine the actual legacy of the Revolution.

In Amherst, as elsewhere, tensions quickly emerged in the thrashing out of the practical effects of these ideals. Within five years of the end of the war, leading Amherst planters believed they had lost the peace when the federal Constitution was adopted over their strenuous objections.

THE CONTINUITY OF AMHERST LEADERSHIP

Despite the substantial immediate and deferred changes that flowed from the Revolution, the most striking aspect of Amherst

Critical Period¹ was the continuity of leadership from the collapse of colonial rule to the ratification of the Constitution. Of the score of individuals who represented the county as magistrates, as members of the Amherst committee of safety, and as delegates to the House of Burgesses in 1775, more than three-quarters of them still played important roles in the political life of Amherst in 1788.² The most significant changes of the period occurred in 1784-1785 with the addition of four new justices and the death or resignation of three longstanding magistrates.³ These substitutions represented not so much a change as a passing of the torch, since all of the newcomers represented families that had long held esteemed planter status. Thus it was essentially the same county leadership that supported the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain, waged the Revolution, and fought against the adoption of the Constitution.

The position of county lieutenant, theoretically the chief executive office of the county and the principal liaison with state authorities, continued to be dominated largely by the Cabell, Nevil and Rose families. Colonel William Cabell, Sr., remained the essential helmsman of the county's affairs through the 1780s as he had been in the 1760s and 1770s. James Nevil, Sr., maintained a community influence and prestige second only to Cabells, continuing a role he had played in conjunction with his kinsman Cornelius Thomas in the late colonial period. Such familiar individuals as Daniel Gaines (1777), Ambrose Rucker (1778) and Alexander Reid, Jr. (1781) served as sheriff, and the post of county treasurer was similarly filled.

Additions to the county court included William Horsley (1777), John Diggs (1778), Henry Landon Davies (1779), James Hopkins (1779), Henry Martin (1779), Benjamin Rucker (1780, brother of Justice Ambrose Rucker), William Cabell, Jr. (1784), Nathan Crawford (178?), Josiah Ellis (1784), John Wiatt (1784), Nicholas Cabell, and Samuel Jordan Cabell. Only Diggs, Ellis, Hopkins, and Martin represented families that had not been among the first echelon of Amherst magnates when the county was established in 1761. But all of these individuals had served their political apprenticeship under the tutelage of the leading planters and had

proven their value both to the county as a whole and specifically to the planters.

The apprenticeship process provided ample opportunity for young or less substantial planters to demonstrate their political and managerial skills. The most common journeyman position for future justices in these war years was, not surprisingly, a military command. Samuel Jordan Cabell (1756-1818) returned home from fourteen months as a British prisoner in Charleston to an enthusiastic reception as a military hero in late 1781. He was appointed county lieutenant and was elected to the House of Delegates in 1785, the beginning of a long and illustrious career in state and national politics.⁴ William Cabell, Jr. (1759-1822), rose similarly under the watchful eye of his father. Completing military service in the field, the younger Cabell was selected lieutenant colonel of the first militia battalion of the county for two years before his appointment as justice.⁵

Additional spring boards to county political power included service as grand jury foremen, tax collectors for state revenues, and land surveyors. However well a subordinate position was performed, though, family and business connections were still the most important criteria in the elevation of citizens to the county bench since justices selected their own colleagues.

Other county posts revealed the substantial continuity of Amherst political life despite the upheavals of war. Edmund Wilcox remained as county clerk until 1785 when he was succeeded by his long-time deputy, William Loving.⁶ William Pollard continued as county jailer and maintenance supervisor of the courthouse until 1779, when he was replaced by William Powell who had maintained an ordinary at the courthouse from 1778. Even those ad hoc positions such as collectors of revenue for special taxes were rotated with fixed regularity among the same half-dozen individuals.

THE MILITARIZATION OF DOMESTIC LIFE AND THE WAR ECONOMY

Stable leadership presented the county magnates with few problems of personnel changes that might have dislocated the war effort. Amherst was fortunate to be spared the direct ravages of combat on its soil, but the county did experience enormous

difficulties in keeping pace with the social and economic demands of the war. That the county coped as well as it did with these challenges was a tribute to the good management and self-confidence of the Amherst elite. The effects of the war, however, were so pervasive and rapid in their impact that even the most superbly competent leadership could only try to channel the flow of events and minimize the damage.

Even from a distance, the war left considerable debris in Amherst, both human and material. Besides the large number of dead and captured suffered by the county through the course of the conflict, many soldiers came home to recuperate from wounds or illnesses contracted while in the field. Entire communities were turned into hospitals and convalescent centers as the war dragged on. In 1777, for example, a number of soldiers home on sickleave petitioned the General Assembly requesting compensation for medical bills incurred in the treatment of their dysentery and "bilious fever."⁷

The marginal livelihood of war widows and the destitute families of absent veterans forced the county to establish a welfare program. This represented a considerable departure from the practice of traditional poor relief. Aid was channelled directly through the county bench and the military command structure instead of the churchwardens who, in any case, would have been hopelessly overburdened with the rapidly accumulating social flotsam. In 1777 Colonel Cabell was authorized by the court to administer funds to support the wives and children of poor soldiers.⁸ Cassey Hays, the indigent wife of George Hays (a soldier serving in the western part of Virginia) received three barrels of corn and 150 pounds of beef to feed her four children and herself during 1780. She was resupplied the following year.⁹ Mary Ann Nevil, a war widow who was afflicted with an unspecified disorder, received not only food supplies but also free lodging provided by the county government.¹⁰

The expansion of administrative responsibilities was most clearly reflected in the reorganization of the local militia. The British invasions of Virginia in 1780 and 1781 forced a thorough overhaul of the makeshift county defense forces. The militia companies were consolidated into two county battalions with

territorial mandates roughly corresponding to the parish divisions. Hugh Rose and Daniel Gaines were appointed colonels in 1780 for the first and second battalions respectively.¹¹ As the county battalions represented the largest units of available manpower in Amherst, they were delegated a wide range of civilian and military functions. The battalions became so engorged that at one point a summoned grand jury had to be discharged because too many potential jurors were serving in the militia.¹²

The militia battalions may have performed certain routine police functions, but they did not have to contend with internal subversion from British sympathizers. The only self-avowed Tories had left Amherst by the end of 1776. Some of those who remained might have secretly wished the British well and feared a future that severed the English umbilical cord, but few were so foolish as to verbalize their misgivings. In 1777, William Galt, Thomas Moffitt, and Augustine Smith were ordered to appear before the county court to answer charges of Tory inclinations. All three insisted on their loyalty, but were reprimanded nonetheless. Both Smith and Moffitt were fined. Galt, as a former assistant storekeeper for William Cunningham & Company of Glasgow, fell under suspicion because of his employers and perhaps because of some reckless remarks.¹³

Both Moffitt and Galt quickly retained favor. Moffitt was granted an ordinary license shortly after his trial in 1778, while Galt was eventually appointed foreman of a grand jury. Neither was to run afoul of the authorities again.¹⁴ Augustine Smith, however, was not so fortunate. He was sued by the local firm of Carter & Trent in 1778 for the collection of a 1774 debt. Shortly thereafter Smith was indicted for illegal gambling. His problems continued into the 1780s with a further conviction of illegal gambling. A suit brought by Smith against several individuals for alleged theft of his horse was summarily dismissed.¹⁵

Even without active Tories in the county, Amherst authorities were able to point to the foreign menace in their midst. The Bristol merchants John Harmer and Walter King made attractive targets since they were not only physically absent, but also owned Amherst estates consisting of more than 10,000 acres of the choicest land in the county. The Bristol merchants claimed in later years that

they had protested the British war policy most vociferously. They also employed King's Nassau plantation overseer, Martin Key, as an attorney to safeguard their concerns in the county. Neither action proved helpful. Key did agree to act as King's attorney to handle any legal complications (1779), but his only action in this regard was to sell William Bibb a plot of the Nassau property. Key had already moved to secure his identification with the whig cause by testifying against Moffitt in the subversion trial of 1778.¹⁶ Key was hardly in a position to defend the British merchants' right lest he be tainted with accusations of disloyalty himself; in any case, he chose not to press his employer's interests.

The status of the Bristol merchant continued to deteriorate until the decree for the general confiscation of Tory estates was announced in 1779 (10 Hening 167). In September David Shepherd was appointed county escheator for the disposition of British property in Amherst. Within one month, the jurors' inquest on Harmer's and King's estates was returned and recorded.¹⁷ Both plantations were declared forfeit and sold at a public auction in March 1780.¹⁸ Colonel William Cabell purchased 4,500 acres of Nassau property (renamed Oak Ridge), which became the dowry for his daughter Margaret.¹⁹

The confiscation of alleged Tory property and a moratorium on the collection of debts owed British creditors were two of the few economic pluses resulting from the war. One of the great ironies of the Revolution is that Amherst found itself under far more extensive, exacting, and cumbersome economic regulation than it had experienced under the British regime. War requisitions rose steadily in the county until they made a quantum leap in the watershed year of Saratoga, 1778. From that time until Yorktown, the county court sessions became increasingly dominated by transactions concerning war expenditures, war taxes, forced requisitions, and the loan of goods and services for various campaigns. Amherst not only had to supply war materials for its own militia and for the various distant and not-so-distant campaigns, but it was also responsible for the victualing and boarding of troops from the western counties who passed through Rockfish Gap. The county's resources were

particularly strained in preparations for Nathanael Greene's expedition to the Carolinas in 1780-1781.²⁰ During the Virginia campaign of 1781, vast quantities of beef, scores of horses (a particularly valuable livestock in Amherst for both business and sport), and a large number of transport vehicles were pressed into service with no more than the shaky authority of the Continental Congress to guarantee these "loans."²¹

In addition to these labor requisitions, livestock impressments, and the forced commodity loans, the state of Virginia developed an elaborate bureaucracy and procedures for the collection of wartime duties and taxes from the counties. Amherst was obliged to erect a similar administrative apparatus to comply with these levies. The principal war duties were the enumerated and specific taxes, payable in specie, paper money, and commodities (principally grain and tobacco).²² Each county appointed commissioners who arranged for the fulfillment of county quotas, and these commissioners were held personally responsible for the complete, timely and equitable recovery of the levies. James Nevil and Hugh Rose were elected the first commissioners in 1779.²³ Because of the critical importance of these positions, they were routinely filled by senior county magistrates who held the confidence of the planters, the county as a whole, and the state authorities.²⁴ The prestige of these officials did not prevent the voicing of a considerable number of objections concerning the fairness of the taxes. Various Amherst families alternately complained about the hardship of paying taxes in grain, tobacco, or cash, depending on their particular economic circumstances and the quality of harvests.²⁵

By 1780 the county authorities had come to the realization that the scope and volume of these taxes had outgrown the existing storage facilities and civilian collection capabilities. In May of that year an official county granary, costing the exorbitant sum of £647.3.9 was constructed to hold commodities collected for the specific tax.²⁶ The two county militia battalions were given the primary responsibility of actually gathering the revenues.²⁷ The personal and commodity taxes were thoroughly revised in November 1781, requiring £11 per 100 acres of land, 10s / tithable, two

shillings / horse, 3s / cow, and five shillings / carriage. In order to carry out this mandate, each militia battalion appointed three commissioners to supervise the evaluation of property, goods, and chattel.²⁸ Since the assessments had to be substantiated by itemized accounts for each household, these records contain a wealth of information for the social and economic historian. These assessments provide the first reliable census of Amherst running from 1782-1788.²⁹ The state of Virginia, acting both for itself and on behalf of the Continental Congress, regulated the economy and commerce of Amherst in a variety of other ways during the war. The state established extensive commodity inspection procedures, allocated scarce foodstuffs, and carefully monitored exports. Since the British market was unavailable to planters, tobacco production remained sluggish throughout the war.

Assuming the British navy could be successfully avoided, France and its West Indian colonies provided the only significant foreign outlets for the venerable cash crop. Virginia established an export duty of ten shillings per hogshead in 1777, the highest level of the war. The market became a bit brisker after the signing of the French alliance in 1778, and by 1783 export duties had dropped to four shillings.³⁰ Amherst planters remained vitally concerned about tobacco and its regulation despite these time of depressed conditions. Just as the Commonwealth continued to pass regulations on tobacco inspection, Amherst planters continued to express strongly held opinions about the possible impact of any new measures.³¹ Tobacco remained a more important medium of exchange in the internal business of Amherst than either grain or currency.

Statewide exports and imports were monitored by the Virginia Board of Trade, the agency responsible for conducting what commerce was possible. Almost as crucial as the export of tobacco was the importation of salt because of its use in the curing and preserving of beef. In Amherst salt was virtually unobtainable in 1775 and very scarce in 1776. Once supplies began to trickle into Virginia again from the French West Indies in 1777, its distribution was carefully organized. Each region of the state was assigned a district agent to administer salt quotas, usually set at the ratio of one bushel per tithable, and each county had its special

commissioners to receive salt supplies. County justices were strictly enjoined to sell salt only at the price set by the governor. The shifting price of salt became a good barometer of inflation in Amherst. The price fluctuated from sixteen shillings per bushel in 1777 to twenty shillings in 1778. In 1780 it took one hundred pounds of tobacco to purchase one and one-half bushels. With the return of peace and normal means of supply, the price of salt had fallen to only fourteen shillings per sack in 1788.³²

Substantial economic relief became possible only after Yorktown. In 1782 the Amherst court announced it would record claims for goods and services "loaned" to the war effort. The justices were soon overwhelmed by a flood of claims, representing the expenditure of all classes of society from the humblest wheelwright to the most prosperous absentee planter.³³ Compensation from the state and national governments proceeded at a snail's pace, but the machinery of repayment had been set in motion by 1784. In early 1783 the Amherst court authorized the submission of pension claims, paid either in disability funds or bounty warrants for land in the western territories.

Given the amount of paper work involved in documenting claims and verifying war service, not to mention the creaking bureaucratic channels of early republican America, it is not too surprising that some pension applications were still being processed more than fifty years later.³⁴ Compensation for the toil and property of Amherst residents was long deferred, only partially repaid, or ignored altogether. Clearly, the greatest stimulus for economic recovery in the county was simply the termination of wartime inflation, economic dislocation, and high taxes, and the return of planters and other veterans to their former priorities of estate management and the production of agricultural goods. Nevertheless, for reasons related to the war and its aftermath, Amherst never reclaimed the luster of its colonial affluence and self-assurance.

LOCAL BUSINESS AND SOCIETY BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION

The financial health of Amherst was greatly damaged by the war, and the postwar convalescence of the county was a gradual and incomplete process. But even during the worst period of the war the

local economy functioned much as it had during the colonial period. Local market rhythms and small scale commercial ventures existed within the broader sweep of the war economy. If a number of small economic enterprises failed or were smothered by the war effort, there were also some that prospered because of the increased demand for certain goods and services.

One group of commercial venturers that fared particularly well because of the expansion of the war effort was the tavern keepers. While much of the population may have cursed the incessant influx of troops from distant parts, these soldiers proved to be a godsend to hostellers. In 1778 at least ten new ordinary licenses were approved, in part to help feed and slake the thirst of itinerant military units. Obadiah Trent opened a tavern at his ferry to supply soldiers waiting to be transported across the river. William Powell maintained perhaps the most lucrative inn of all, located at the courthouse. Powell's revenues must have increased in proportion to the rise of war-related business transacted at court sessions.³⁵ Additional ordinaries were authorized during the course of the war, including in 1780 that of John Henry Goodwin near the site of the soon-to-be-developed town to Lynchburg.³⁶

The price of food at the ordinaries was another measure of inflation in the county and the relative scarcity of staples. In 1780 prices were set at £2.10.0 for a warm diet (dinner) and whiskey by the gill, a cold diet was valued at £1.1.0, and a night's lodging cost twelve shillings. The scarcity of Caribbean liquor was indicated by the high cost of West Indian rum at £2.2.0, and a rum toddy went for the tidy sum of £8.8. Prices began to drop significantly in 1782. The going rate for a warm diet that year was £ 1.6, with a gallon of rum for only fifteen shillings.

In 1784 West Indian rum had dropped even further. Nevertheless, the choice of beverages available in 1784 indicated that the drinking tastes of Amherst had been Americanized out of patriotism and wartime deprivation. Lodgers at the ordinaries in 1784 could choose between West Indian rum at twelve shillings or "continental" rum at five shillings; between imported beer at five shillings and Virginia beer at two shillings.³⁷ Just as the value of salt was set by the Commonwealth, the county justices closely regulated

the prices charged by ordinaries. Few innkeepers were able to further inflate their prices given this close scrutiny by the justices.³⁸

To some extent, the county magistrates also regulated the price and supply of basic foodstuffs such as grain and other cereals. John Edwards was indicted in 1782 for trying to drive up the price of corn by hoarding supplies.³⁹ Other than tobacco production, most other commercial ventures were limited to meeting the demands of the war or simply providing economic self-sufficiency for small farmers and large planters alike. Grist mills represented another flourishing industry since grain in particular was a primary commodity for the payment of Revolutionary taxes. Some eleven individuals, all apparently affluent because of the high initial investment costs, constructed mills between 1779 and 1783. These included two justices, Henry Landon Davies and John Martin.⁴⁰

The steady expansion of transportation networks that had so characterized colonial Amherst and broadened its markets was greatly curtailed during war. Major thoroughfares required for the speedy flow of men and material to the battle fronts were maintained in reasonable condition. As a result of the critical importance of Rockfish Gap for transshipments during the war and the state's needs for better communication with the valley counties west of the Blue Ridge, Amherst closely cooperated with Augusta and Rockbridge counties in improving access through the mountains. Major changes in the state's system of roads, however, did not commence until 1782 with the beginning of turnpike construction.

The most dramatic improvements in Amherst's transportation ties with the eastern part of the state in this period were by water rather than land. As in the past, the catalyst was tobacco shipments to the Fall Line warehouses. In the 1770s and 1780s Anthony J. Rucker (1740-1821), Benjamin Rucker, perfected the James River bateaux, which greatly increased the volume of tobacco that Amherst planters were able to ship to the eastern terminals.⁴¹

If planters and farmers believed debt problems had been happily resolved because British creditors were no longer part of the equation,⁴² they were quickly enlightened. Local Piedmont merchants such as Charles Irving⁴³ or the firm of Carter & Trent

helped fill the vacuum left by the departure of the Scots and English. Heavy war expenditures, the scarcity of consumer goods, and the sluggish market for tobacco provided ideal opportunities for the Piedmont entrepreneurs to bind tightly all classes of Amherst society to the commercial services of the local merchants.

By the end of the Revolution, the most prosperous merchants had acquired a large circle of debtor clients in Amherst. David Ross of Richmond, the richest Virginian at the end of the war, was also probably the largest single creditor of Amherst planters. At one point two Amherst justices, one constable, and the county clerk were indicted for having defaulted on loans borrowed from Ross. Justice Gaines was substantially in debt, owing the equivalent of 60,000 pounds of tobacco to Ross in 1783.⁴⁴ Occasionally planters who were themselves owed debts assigned the collection to merchants like Ross. The most classical substitute for debt litigation, however, involved direct negotiation between planters and farmers without the use of intermediaries. But the debtor-creditor relations of Amherst citizens, often complicated by cross claims and murky contractual arrangements, usually became hopelessly entangled. Resulting lawsuits consumed years of hearings and judgments before the smoke cleared.⁴⁵

Given the volume of debt cases⁴⁶ and the importance of resolving these suits to the economic well-being of the entire county, it would not be inaccurate to say that at most times the county bench acted as a claims court. The Amherst economy was largely based on interdependent credit arrangements, so debt litigation was simply the judicial manifestation of this credit economy. Far from being regarded as a resort to ultimate sanctions, such litigation was viewed as a perfectly acceptable way of conducting business, especially if one stood to profit from delays or the accrual of interest.

Virtually all residents of Amherst resorted to litigation of one type or another, or were directly affected by the outcome of judgments. Excluding the senior magistrates Cabell and Nevil, virtually every white adult male was cited as a defendant at least once between 1777 and 1788. Normally, only four senior justices presided at each court session, assisted by the county attorney

Thomas Miller (appointed in 1778). Since a docket for a given session could contain from one hundred to five hundred cases, speed rather than thoroughness was the objective. Many of these cases were only pro forma presentations, but even so the backlog of cases was staggering. Cases originating as early 1767 were still being tried as late as the 1780s. An injunction against William Garland was not dismissed until 1782, even though he had died in 1778!⁴⁷

Grand jury presentments and felony trials were handled much more expeditiously. Felony trials and sentences were usually held and decreed the same day. Presentments were normally adjudicated within thirty days of an indictment. And unlike claim suits, the defendants were usually represented by counsel if they were free whites.⁴⁸ Felony indictments were presented to the court by the county attorney and, depending on the race of the defendant, could include anything from petty theft to murder. Except in cases involving slaves, the county court could not pronounce sentence for capital crimes. White persons so convicted were bound over to the General Court in the state capital. It is significant that despite the upheaval of the times, very few white men were indicted for felony crimes. Most of the felony charges of the war period were brought against slaves who occasionally had white accomplices.

Grand jury presentments usually dealt with crimes of moral turpitude or civil irresponsibility. The most frequent indictments presented by grand juries were for retailing liquor without a license.⁴⁹ Other charges included presentments against derelict road inspectors and for sexual offenses. Many of these social criminals were repeat offenders. George Blaine presents a good example of the revolving door of social crimes. Prior to 1779 Blaine appears to have been an unexceptional character, minding his own business as far as the court records are concerned. he was granted an ordinary license in 1778 and contributed twenty-eight days service in the collection of beef for the Continental troops. Between 1779 and 1784, however, Blaine was convicted of four crimes, twice for the illegal retailing of liquor, once for unlawful gambling, and once for fornicating.⁵⁰

The following table summarizes the variety of social crimes in Amherst in this period and their relative gravity as indicated by the

Baptists and Methodists suited the temper of the times for most Amherst residents better than what was perceived as the formal ritual of the Anglicans or the cold intellectuality of the Presbyterians.

In 1780 the General Assembly ruled that nonconformist ministers should be licensed to conduct services, organize congregations, and perform baptisms and marriages. After the Yorktown campaign minimized the threat of social instability, the Amherst planters consented to implement this legislation fully. In 1782, "on the recommendation of the elders of the Baptist society," the Reverend Benjamin Coleman was authorized to celebrate marriages outside the authority of the churchwardens so long as these unions were recorded by the county bench.⁵⁵ By 1784 the Baptists had experienced phenomenal growth, or at least now publicly affirmed their beliefs. Joseph Ballenger, John Clary, and David Patteson all received ministerial licenses. Baptist adherents soon represented all social classes.

The Baptists had consolidated their triumph by 1784, winning converts in the Burford, Childress, Ellis, Gilbert, Higginbotham, Pollard, Rucker, and Ware families.⁵⁶ Since the base of Baptist strength in Amherst was formed by the poorer classes of society, the potential for serious economic and political conflict, represented as religious assertions, emerged. In 1785, for example, Reverend Coleman was indicted for refusing to list himself as a tithe for tax purposes.⁵⁷

The composition of Amherst society also changed for reasons having nothing to do with religious preferences. Land sales and population movements were soon to alter significantly the demographic face of Amherst. By the end of the 1780s substantial absentee property owners like Carter Braxton, Thomas Lomax, and the Lynch and Randolph families had largely liquidated their Amherst holdings. (58) The only significant immigration into Amherst in the war years resulted from the temporary influx of refugees fleeing the British occupation of South Carolina after 1779. Joseph Clay, John Habersham, Joseph Habersham, William Brace, Thomas Powe, William Saunders, and William Thompson removed their goods and property to the county after the fall of Charleston. Their arrival

was significant for the economy of Amherst since they transported with them their 151 slaves, perhaps the largest importation of slaves to Amherst in a single year up to that time. (59) James Ambler of James City County amassed the largest new land holdings in the county for the 1780s, purchasing some 2,093 acres.

The trickle of new arrivals was eclipsed by the substantial outward migration. Although the flood gates of Amherst emigration were truly opened only after 1789, the Critical Period marks the beginning of a population drain on the area that continued unabated into the twentieth century. The stimulus for the exodus had both internal and external sources. By 1785 virtually all arable land in Amherst and the adjacent Piedmont was under cultivation. The county no longer had a frontier to be developed and now found itself in the same circumstances as the older Tidewater counties had experienced two generations before. Not only was land scarce for potential immigrants, but land holdings had become increasingly concentrated among a few large planters.

The war period and years following witnessed the steady expansion of great planter and mercantile holdings at the expense of middling farmers who found their aspiration for upward mobility effectively blocked. The sequestration of Tory property provided little benefit for most Amherst property owners, and those absentee planters who were liquidating their county holdings usually found buyers among the already prosperous. Small farmers were also more adversely affected by wartime hardships since their assets were limited and less resilient. Given the significant engrossment of land by the planter and merchant elite, the small farmers were unable to recoup their losses within the county.

By the 1780s the incentive and rationale for emigration had been well established. By the end of the war the means for relocation were provided. Veterans, no matter how humble their economic circumstances, were rewarded with a real estate bonanza after the conclusion of peace. Depending on length of service and military rank, soldiers of the Continental line were entitled to land bounties ranging from one hundred to 2,666 acres and up. The Continental Congress was eager to settle quickly the new western territories acquired through the treaty of Paris in order to secure the frontier

against the machinations of European powers. With the scarcity of specie and the depreciation of currency, land was the only asset that could really pay the nation's debt to its veterans. The bounty allotments could be greatly expanded with little effort since the western lands were plentiful enough to be extraordinarily cheap.

These enticements were sufficient for a number of Amherst citizens. The success of the initial emigrants in Kentucky, Georgia, and Illinois served as a magnet to draw other from the Tye, the Rockfish, and the James. Emigration was not limited to small farmers, since the larger planter received even more substantial bounty warrants. Most affluent planters of Amherst chose to limit their western investments to real estate speculation and to provide for the future estates of their daughters and younger sons. Both William Loving, the deputy clerk, and Justice James Nevil announced their intention to resettle in the new lands, but both reconsidered before actually moving.⁶¹

Although the domestic impact of this emigration for Amherst became clear by the early nineteenth century, it is difficult to gauge what effect this migration had during its initial stages of the Critical Period. At this point emigration was seen as an untarnished good, providing a safety valve for the disadvantaged and discontent while increasing wealth and opportunity for those who left as well as those who remained. The essential continuity of county leadership was preserved and surviving records do not indicate any major dislocations or concerns about the possible adverse effect of population transfers.⁶²

Despite the war and despite emigration, Amherst listed eight of the one hundred wealthiest Virginia planters on its tax roles. Only Colonel William Cabell, however, had the bulk of his property within the county -- some 14,837 (out of a total of 15,237) acres and 93 slaves. Collectively, the eight maintained property holdings of 38,536 acres within Amherst. And this figure was dwarfed by their combined statewide assets of approximately 140,000 acres and 800 slaves.⁶³

Whether resident or absentee, these eight planters, by virtue of their vast holdings, wielded enormous influence in the economic life of the county at the end of the Critical Period. It remained for the

leading resident planters to actually chart the political course of Amherst in the waning years of the Confederation. When the county confronted political questions, momentous or mundane, the resident justices served as the county's navigators. William Cabell, the wealthiest citizen of Amherst and first among equals with his colleagues of the county bench, served as the chief catalyst of county opinion.

STATE POLITICS AND ANTIFEDERALISM IN AMHERST

(comment by Seaman: end of the chapter, and apparently end of manuscript)

TABLES

Table I

SETTLERS AND LAND OWNERS IN OLD AMHERST, 1746-1761: Part A

Note: The names of these settlers came from a variety of sources, including Robert Rose's Diary; Virginia Land Office Records; Albemarle deed and order books; and miscellaneous articles about the early history of Albemarle and Amherst. The names in Part B are from Alexander Brown, "A List of the Earliest Settlers of Old Amherst." This list is not complete for adult white males, and omits widows, single women, and all blacks and Indians (some of whom are referred to by first name only in the rest of the text). For other possible leads on settlers, see Table III: French and Indian War soldiers; Alexander Brown, alphabetical listing of first 3000 settlers of Albemarle; Bedford County genealogies; Estelle King, Early Marriage Records of Albemarle; indices to printed Virginia genealogies; and Bailey Davis, comp., Abstract of Albemarle Order Book.

Armor, James--1748, 400a. on Davis Creek from Chiswell grant
Blyzze, John--overseer to Captain Wilcox
Berresford, John--will written in 1762
Bumines?, Henry--near s. branch, Piney R., 1749
Cash, Howard--near Pedlar R. by Richard Taliaferro's, 1749
Dean, Francis--shoe making apprentice to John Parks, 1749; Rose
servant
Duncan, Rev. John--Baptist evangelist active in Amherst by 1750s
Edmiston, James--family lived at headwaters of Pedlar R. before
1761
Ferne?, Thomas--Rose's overseer, 1749
Fitzpatrick, William--near Ragged Mts., 1749
Gist, Samuel--merchant of Hanover, active in western Albemarle
1754
Goff, John--will written in 1762
Gooch, William--from Hanover, in 1760 moved to Amherst area; nephew Philip
also came
Graton, John--Harris Creek, 1749

Green, Robert--built Rose's barn, 1750
 Hall, Rev. William--St. Anne's Parish, 1752-4
 Hardwick, Thomas--will written in area of Old Amherst, 1760
 Irving, Kendal J. --Rose's tobacco tenant, 1750
 Jones, Ambrose--1750 overseer at Nassau TractLyon, Peter--land
 grant from George II, Faber area; property subsequently
 owned by Col Shepherd, John Hamner, Hudson Martin, et.al.
 Maloy, Edward--1740s reference to Maloy's Creek, 1745 Albemarle
 O.B.
 Marr, John--1748 overseer, lived near Higginbothams
 Massie, Charles--of Hanover, active in Albemarle 1750s. In Order
 Book
 McCook, Robert--servant of Rose, 1750
 McLachlin, John--servant of Rose, 1750
 Mellen,?--1750 miner at Warren's copper mines
 Mitchel, David--killed in construction work, 1750. Ellen--Rose's
 family nurse, 1750
 Oswald, Richard & Co.--held mortgage to James Christian patent,
 1751-9
 Philips, Joseph--overseer of Braxton's quarter, 1748
 Ramsey, Rev. John--St. Anne's Parish 1752-4
 Ripley, Richard--tobacco boatman, 1749
 Rust, George--1750 Castle Creek
 Savage, Kendall--1749 overseer of Rose at Tye R.
 Sharkey?,Thomas--of Sharkeysburg? Plantation, 7200 acres on
 Harris Creek; 1749
 Speirs, Alexander, and Co.--215 a., 1752 mortgage on Buffalo C.
 Resident in Glasgow
 Sudarth, William--will written in 1761. Lawrence, died 1815,
 moved out to Albemarle
 Ware, Benjamin--will written in 1761.
 Ward, William--Rose's blacksmith by 1750
 Watkins, John--1756 land grant, 200a., branches of Puppies'C.
 Waugh, Alexander--1748
 Whitten Robert--deed on Huff's C., 1760 400a., from W. Cabell
 Wilcox, John--mariner from Urbanna in Middlesex Co.;, 1,020a.. from
 Rose, by 1750, on Tye R.

Winston, William--from Hanover, active in western Albemarle 1746.
In Order Book
Worley, Caleb--250a. on beaver C., adjoining tobacco Row Mt, 1758
deed. Resident of Pa.

SETTLERS IN OLD AMHERST 1746-1761: Part B

Allen, Joseph--married daughter of Alex McPherson, lived on
Rockfish
Allen, John--married prior to 1758, lived on rockfish
Anthony, John--prior 1745; 1752 Blackwater Creek, mo Bedford,
capt F&I War.
Abney, Paul--1746 Davis Creek of Rockfish
Ayers, Robert --1749 Stoney C. of Rockfish
Atherington, Francis--1749 Taylor's C. of Rockfish
Adams, William 1756 Alsop, Robert 1758, Aaron, Daniel 1758,
Ashley, Edward 1758
Angell, James 1760
Arrington, Nevis 1748
Arrington, William, died 1749 Aldber, Samuel, Thomas children
Ballow, Thomas Jr.--1751 Tye R. Mainly Cumberland and Buckingham,
Huguenot?
Bodian?, Nicholas--1747 s. fork Rockfish. F&I War
Barnett, Robert--1748 Hat Creek 200
Burk, Samuel Sr., and Jr., Richard, Rowland, John, David, John
Peartree prior 1750 1000+
Bunch?, Henry--500 in 1748 Piney R.
Brown, Jacob--50 in 1751 Pedlar R., F&I War
Brown, John--ibid., 60, blacksmith
Bibb, William--100 in 1754; from Louisa
Bays, Peter--1749 Tobacco Row Mt.
Bonds, James 1752 Stovall's C.
Bostick, John 100+ 1752 Horsley's C.
Burns, William--1751 Horse Shoe, Marrow Bone, and Sugar Loaf Mt.
Burnley, Harden Sr., sons Charles and Hardin 1746 1600+, Rucker's
Run. Fendley' Gap; Lynch's Gap, Peavine Mt., head branch north
branch south fork Rockfish R. at Fendley's Mt. Most land in
Fluvanna.

Bowman, Gilbert--400 1746 Rose's C., Piney R.
 Biswell, John --400 1748 Thrasher's C.
 Blair, Joseph--50 Hughes C. 1750. William Blair 1760
 Boyd, Samuel--commissary, lived in Bedford, passed thro A. carrying
 stud and mare to Dr. Walker's "for fear of the Indians."
 Town on Rockfish R. prior to 1745 s branches on Meechum R., head
 branches Rockfish eastern base of B. R. near Rockfish Gap over 55
 families inc. Gandilock, McAlexander, Woods, Tyrel, Whitesides,
 Reid, Campbell, Wright, Lacy, Dickie, Crawford, Dinwiddy, Carr,
 Montgomery, Martin, Weir, and Ware. Ministered by Samuel Black
 (d. 1771) Bowles 1748 Fishing C., now Allen's C.
 Boorland, James--1758 Rockfish
 Boulton, James--Tye R. ran away 1760
 Bowen, Moses--1759, son of Lilly
 Bell, Thomas and James Jr., 1759
 Bryon, John 1758 tailor
 Bumpiss?, John 1756
 Becknel, William F&I War, Thomas and James killed in Rev. 1757
 Christian, Robert, Most on Appomattox. Also branches Porridge C.
 1747? from Goochland
 Christian, Charles 1760, Rocky C.
 Cobbs, Robert-- 50 from Sarah Lynch 1753, mouth of Harris C. area
 Crawley, Thomas--Bald Friar Mt. 1753 267
 Crawley, Samuel 339 1753 on Piney R.
 Campbell, John and son Robert 1749 branches Meechum' R. John b.
 Ire., emigrated to Pa. 1726, to Augusta ca. 1730 where died 550+
 Childers, Henry and brother Joseph 200 Dutch C. 1747. Family from
 Henrico
 Childers, John Jr.--100+ 1750 Rock house branch. Also John Sr.,
 Benjamin, Abram.
 Clark, Charles--400+ 1751 s. fork Bolling's C.
 Clark, Micajah--1100+ 1749 Tobacco Row Mt. Maple C., head of
 Bolling C., branches of Porridge C. Charles received 680 a in
 Madison Hts. became Duckbill Farm, 1751, s. Fork of Bolling's
 Cotterel, Thomas--1100 1746 Thrasher's C., Buffalo R.
 Coterel, Edward--250 1751 Porridge C.
 Cockerham, Jacob--277 1752 Tye

Candler, Daniel and William 300 1749 branches s. fork Rockfish,
 Wm. by 1751 150 head of Fishing C., raised corn
 Camp, Thomas--50+ 1752 Robert Davis Mill C.
 Camp, Ichabod--50+ Date?
 Chiswell, John, prior to 1745. By 1750 10,000 between Braxton,
 Rose, Rucker, Fluvanna, Cols WC and JC trustees of estate 1766,.
 Clearwater, Sylvester--150 1750 Rockfish
 Crawford, David Sr., Jr., Owen--125+ 1750 head branches Rockfish
 Carter, Edward of Blenheim. Inherited from John Carter. Later, Hill
 Carter of Mine Hill
 Carter, Henry, Job, Solomon -- prior to 1761 400+
 Cox, George--140 1753 n. side Pedlar R.
 Cowper, John; Pickering, Richard; Grantland, James; Lloyd, Nicholas;
 Dobson, Richard 20,000 a. 1753 Alb. and Augusta beginning n.
 branch Tye running to Col Beverley's over B,R,
 Chew,? James 1751 Porridge C.
 Crews, James--overseer to Daniel Mayo near Midway Mills
 Cowley, John --overseer for Dr. WC 1756
 Cameron, Duncan, 1756 near Maidenhead Mt.
 Collason, James
 Crosthwait, Timothy
 Davis, Robert--1,450+ 1746 Rucker's Run.
 Davis, Isham--200+ 1749 Wilderness Swamp
 Davis, Matthew--350+ 1749 Beaver C. of Buffalo R.
 Davis, Nathaniel--450+ 1747 Robert Davis Mill C.
 Davis, Robert Jr., David, John, Cain, Richard --369+ 1750-8
 Davies, Nicholas--prior 1745. By 1753 over 15,000, more south of
 Fluvanna. From Judith C. to Scotch-Irish Falls. father of Henry
 Landon Davies.
 Dameron, John-- 50 1750 Huff's C.
 Dickie, James and son Thomas 2700 1750 Elk C. of Tye, Hat C., 3
 Ridge Mt., Indian Camp C.
 Duggins, Alex-- 50 1753 branches of Harris C.
 Dinwiddy, Robert--1753 head branches Rockfish
 Duncan, Martin--1749 or earlier. Lived with Dr. WC.
 Dawson, William Rev.--1747 Left it to son Thomas who died in NC
 before 1768. Commissary Dawson intermarried with Stiths and
 Randolphs, Dawson, Martin, John, and Henry 1758-60. John lived
 near Faber Mills. Father of younger Martin D; Milton merchant

Denny, Samuel, John, William, and Benjamin --300+ 1748 Hat C.
 Donathan, William--200 1747 Raven C. of Buffalo R.
 Davenport, Clover and Richard--400+ 1747 Rucker's R. and Beaver C.
 near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Digges, Marshall--1752
 Edwards, John--overseer by 1760
 Eads, Abram, James, Thomas, Stanhope, and Ben Evans prior to 1761
 Elliot, John--150 1747 Raccoon C. of Tye R.
 Edmonds, Samuel, James John Sr., and Jr., --250+ 1752 Tye and
 Buffalo
 Eubank, Daniel--400 1753 Porridge C.
 Eldwon, Edward-- 800 1751
 Egar, Moses 1748 Rockfish a weaver
 Enix, Davis 1759 blacksmith
 Ellis, Charles--1754 to Red Hill from Henrico, F&I War Capt. d.
 1760. Eldredge, James--20 branch of Rockfish in cove of Pea? Mt.
 Floyd, John
 Fendley, James, Charles and Mrs. Thankful by 1758. Some moved to
 Augusta
 Fry, Col Joshua--1745-51 8000. Rocky C., Buffalo R near Braxton, m
 including a "noted spring known to James Warren."
 Buffalo Ridge Spring? Son Rev. Henry Fry 1748 Porridge C.
 Ferman?, John 750 1746 next to Sec. Carter
 Fleming, Edward 50 1746 Davis C.
 Franklin, Ben--1748 near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Farrar, John 1746 Rockfish
 Foster, Robert & Charles--1746 Fendle's Gap on Rucker's Run
 Flood, John before 1757
 Gilmore, John 50+ 1752 Piney R. d. 1773
 Gibson, Thomas--1758 rented land + 3 hands to James Dillard
 Gregg, William--1747 rented Samuel Marksburg's place on Tye R.
 until heir comes of age.
 Goolsby, James--50 1746 n. fork Piney R.
 Graves, John, 400 wheelwright 1746, near head of Harris C. +
 Tobacco Row Mt.
 Gregory, Richard Fletcher-- 550 a leather breeches maker 1746
 Tobacco Row Mt. 1753 Owen's C.

Greer, John 100 1747 Tye. Andrew Grier in 1754.
 Gandilock, Adam--100 1746 Castle C. near Priest Mt.
 Glenn, m David and James--1752 head waters of Rockfish
 Greenstreet, Peter 1753 on Rockfish
 Grubs, Thomas and Harris, James 1752 chain carriers killed
 rattlesnake and saw eclipse.
 Grant, Alexander, 1746 adjoined R. Rose who made the entry.
 Godherd, Henry (tenant), William (miller) 1757
 Gerrard, alias Jarratt, Devereaux--rented farm from Dr. WC 1758-60
 on Watt's Creek
 Griffin, John--1760 Rockfish
 Gowen, Moses tenant 1757
 Grymes, Philip 1756 mortgage on 7,881 acres belonging to Col LL,
 north branches of Tye (where Old Amherst C.H. built) to secure
 payment of £1714.11.2 sterling. Died prior to 1767 when land
 sold by executors. Son of John Grymes, receiver-gen. of Va.
 Married daughter of Sir John Randolph.
 Howard, Ignatius--1758 Tye tenant
 Hughes, Guthridge--1748 shoemaker
 Hughes, Thomas 1750 Rockfish
 Hilton, George--1760 head branches Owen's C.
 Hunter, John 1750 Marrow Bone, sugar Loaf and Horse-shoe.
 Sheriff in 1748.
 Hairstone, Andrew, Samuel, and Peter 1747 head of Rockfish
 Hog, John 1748 n. side Fluvanna
 Hay, Gilbert 1749 Piney R.
 Haryes, Robert 1750 100 Hat C. George Hays 1748 near Tobacco
 Row Mt.
 Harris, Ben, of Louisa, 1,100 1753 Maple C. of Pedlar
 Herd, John, Henry, Steven, William, James, and George 858 1748
 near Rockfish
 Hix, William and John Sr., and Jr., 1756
 Holliday, Robert 1752 Dutch C. 50
 Henderson, William, Thomas and Alexander 1752 Rockfish 150
 Handsborough, William 1755
 Humphries, William overseer 1756
 Hooper, George 1757 killed gray stallion belonging to Dr. WC
 Henson, Phil 1758 ran away to Staunton owing 2 years' rent

Johnson, William and Mary 1748 s. side of Rockfish 50
 Johnston, Robert and Lucy, 1760
 Jones, James and John 1746 Piney R.
 Jones, Thomas 1748 Nephew and he wounds, nephew later died. Tye
 Jordan, Absalom 1760
 Jefferson, Thomas 1751 1,500 Bolling's and Stovall's C. 1753 400
 Porridge C. In 1751 assistant surveyor. Possibly younger
 brother of PJ.
 Joslin John 200 1747 1747 branch of Owen's C. near Christian's
 path
 Joplin, Ralph, 100 1751 s. side Rockfish
 Isham, John 1748 Porridge C.
 Jackson, James 1758 near Maiden Head Mt.
 Jude, John and Robert Irons tenants 1759
 Key, John, Martin, and Henry 1753 near Rockfish. Probably Scotch-
 Irish
 King, Joseph, and Knight John 1756
 Kirkland, Richard Snowden, 10 1747 Huff's C.
 LeGrand, Abram, 400 1751 n. branch Harris C
 Little, William and James 170 1748 near the town of Rockfish
 Lattimer, John and Daniel 100 1748 near town of Rockfish
 Langford, Thomas 100 1750 near great stone called Humpback by
 Charles Rodes," western branch of Rockfish
 London, James 350 1747 n. branch Stony Run of Buffalo
 London, John 1650 1750 foot of Tobacco Row Mt.
 Lee, Ambrose Among original Amherst JPs, Prior to 1757. Died
 1766. 11,000 a on Buffalo R; Spotsylvania Co. Goochland involved
 there with Penn
 Lyon, John and Elisha 1750 Rockfish
 Lively, Mark F&I War.
 Leek, John Bought large quantities of cider from 1756-8.
 Lavender, Charles 1747 Owen's C. near Higginbotham's Mill Path. 50
 Lawhorn, Thomas 1757 tenant
 Lane, William Sr. and Jr. Thomas 1750 200a.
 Loving, John Sr. (1705-1769) and Jr. (1738-1804) and William
 (1740-1792) 640 a. by 1752.
 Lyle, James 400 1751 adjoining James Christian near Porridge C.

Livingstone, John by 1758 when cured of gunshot wound by Dr. WC
 Murrill?, William, 400 1750 near Rockfish
 Morrile, Samuel 50+ 1750 under Pilot Mt.
 McKeeny, John 300 1747 near Harris C.
 Moore, John 1,650 1750 Buffalo, Pedlar, Horsley's C., Tobacco Row
 Mt.
 Matlock, Escot? 100 1748 Lawrence's C.
 Matlock, Thomas 1750 miller
 Monson, John 50a 1747 Maple c. near Pedlar
 McQuirk, John 350 1747 Tye
 Morgan, John 1760 blacksmith
 Martin, Stephen, Sherwood, and Thomas 1755 Rockfish from Essex
 Co.
 Montgomnery, Alexander, Michael Sr. and Jr., James, William, John,
 David, and Thomas 1746 at Rockfish
 Murray, Jeramiah 1747 Meriwether's branch of Rockfish
 McClain, William 50 1751 Rockfish
 Mathews, Gregory 1755
 Mathews, William and son James 150+ 1746 Tye
 Manion, Edmond 100 1746 s. fork of Piney at mouth of Rocky Run
 Meriwether, Francis prior to 1761. Family from Wales married into
 John Syme's family; Thomas, 1757 Taylor's C. David, 1758 Taylor
 Morris, William 1760 Tobacco Row Mt.
 Morrison, William, Rachel, John Thomas Sr., and Jr., Peter, and
 Patrick 650+ 1746 Morrison's branch of Rockfish
 McCord, John and William 250+ 1746 near Rockfish
 Monasco, John 50 1746 "below the Dutch Settlement on the wagon
 road to John Schneider's."
 Megginson, Capt. William 300+ 1749 adjoining James Mobily on the
 "river"; also Little Owen's C. Most of land in Buckingham.
 Marksburg, Samuel died on farm at Tye River ca. 1747; son Samuel
 Mayfield, John 143 1748 n. branch of Piney. Isaac somewhat later.
 Macon, Henry of cumberland Co. 400 1752 Pedlar at William Mill's
 upper lines. Married daughter of Maj. William Mayo
 Mayo, Daniel 1748 Swan Creek adjoining Nicholas Cabell. died prior
 to 1767. Son of Mj. William Mayo.
 McGuire, Cornelius 50 1752 Hat C.

May, Charles and Philip 100 1753 Rockfish
 McAlexander, James 150+ by 1750 on Davis C.
 McAlexander, Thomas 550 1750 near the Town on Rockfish
 Miller, William Sr. and Jr., Samuel and George 167+ 1747 s. branch
 of Rockfish
 Mitchell, Thomas died in A. 1767
 McAnally, John and Charles 250+ side of mt. near Rockfish Gap
 Mount, John 1749 Maple C
 Mociley, James Sr., and Jr., 1750 Mobiley's C.
 Moorman, Micajah (1735-1806); prior to 1757. From Moorman's
 River, Alb. Zachariah, his son, 5 mi. south of Lynch's Ferry 1757
 Ferry from Edward Lynch to Blackwater C. at Moorman's origins of
 Lynchburg. Originally from Louisa.
 McCary, Richard 1758 McPherson, Alexander 1760,
 McCraw, William and Samuel 1758
 Mecan, Neal 1759
 Megan, Joseph overseer for Braxtons 1759
 Man, Samuel, 1760 Rockfish
 McMullen, Alexander 1760 Rockfish; son William's leg amputated.
 McClary, James 1757
 McPheters, William 1757
 McBain, Daniel 1754
 Mahoney, James 1751
 Nor, Abell 1759
 Nix, James and George 150 1750
 Neal, Nicholas 418 1752 Dutch Thoroughfare on branches of
 Rockfish
 Newman, Joseph 1758; soldier at Braddock's defeat
 O'Neal, Cornelius 50 1746 Davis C. of Rockfish
 Osborn, Arthur 50 1746 "adjoining Harmer's and King's line in the
 little cove"
 Ownby, John 1751
 Patterson, David and William 450 1747
 Prior, William 1747 on Pedlar above William Floyd. Prior, Nicholas
 by 1758 150
 Parks, Charles 1751 Beaver C.
 Parks, John 1749
 Powell, George 50 1752 Cuckhold's C

Powell, Richard 600 1746 branch of Buffalo. Son John, from Loudoun or Facquier area?

Powell, Thomas 1758

Philips, Leonard 800 1746 "on the upper side of the Dutch Tract in a cove of the Ragged Mts."

Phipps, Richard Jones 50+ 1757 Possum C.

Porter, Ambrose 1751 Huff's C.

Peter, Walter, John, William, and Richard 1758 near Tobacco Row Mt.

Prophit, David 1758

Pendleton, Philip 1751 main property in Appomattox and Buckingham. Amherst; Pendletons descended mainly from John Pendleton, Philip's uncle. Philip brother of Hon. Edmund Pendleton?

Pearce, William by 1759 britches maker. Perhaps killed in Rev. in 1778.

Pannelle, William 1760

Pucket, John 1756 overseer

Penn, Gabriel (1741-1798), son of George Penn; earliest reference 1757

Price, William owned part of Geo. Braxton's Tye entry 1749. Childless

Robinson, Hon. John, in 1760 purchased from estates of Col. John Chiswell: 20,000 a. on Rockfish; 7/8 share of copper mine and lands purchased from John Warren; 1/4 share of a copper mine and lands purchased from Joshua Fry; 2,000 a. on Buffalo Ridge. Speaker of House of Burgesses, died 1766. Lands sold subsequently by Cols. W. and Joseph Cabell as trustees by 1770.

Robertson, John (joyner), died 1769.

Robinson, George

Robertson, William 1758 on Rockfish; James

Roberts, Henry 1749, Morris 1750, John 1760, near Rockfish

Rice, Ebon Rocky Run 1746 plantation bought from James Christian.

Rodes, Charles (d. 1798) 1752 on Rockfish. Family from Louisa area. John arrived in Alb. 1749.

Rayfield, Spencer 1751 Rockfish

Rucker, John and Ambrose. Date unknown perhaps as early as 1742; east side of Tobacco Row Mt.

Ryon, John 1758 (1733=1786) m. Unity Tony, a Huguenot 1751

Richards, David 1758, west 1760, William 1760

Smith, Ambrose Joshua (asst. surveyor), Thomas James, John Sr. 2,000 a. and Jr., John, John (schoolmaster) Col. John of Goochland (fork of Tye), Jacob, Philip, Abraham (Hat C.), Daniel (asst. surveyor), Thomas (Rockfish), Thomas near Lynchburg (school master), Guy (sub-sheriff).

Steven, John and William prior to 1758 when rumored to be planning escape to Carolina

Staples, John (assistant surveyor), and Samuel 1757

Stamper, Jonathan, 50 near Tye

Strauger?, Charles 50 1753 branch of Cabell's Mill C.

Stranger, John and son Joseph

Shenault?, Stephen 10 1751

Shelton, Richard 200+ 1753 s. side Tobacco Row Mt, Harris C., s. side Bear Mt. adjoining John Harvie. Also Capt. Samuel d. 1743, William and Zebulon. From K. William Co.

Shannon, Thomas Sr., and Jr., 1750 Cuckhold's C. Samuel 150 a. 1746.

Shasted, James 1752 Tobacco Row Mt. Spurlock, Drury 150 1754 near Tye

Swinney, Moses 1757 overseer

Savage, Kendal 1752

Steel, Francis and Nathaniel 1757 tenants

Satt:?, John 1760

Stephenson, Edward, sons Robert and John 1760 Rockfish

Stratton, John and Henry 1757 John in F&I War

Sale, John F&I War

Taylor, James 100 1753 "where Tye river road crosses the C.H. road."

Taylor, Benjamin 100 1750 near head branches of Rockfish

Taylor, Zachary 1753 Thomas, Michael Sr. Rockfish border; 1745 and 1748 patents. Michael Jr. d. 1802, Alb Sheriff 1789

Thornton, Daniel and Nehemiah 1752 "at John Thornton's corner foot of Dutch Mt."

Thompson, John of Louisa 600 1753 branches of Rockfish

Thompson, Thomas 400 1746 Beaver branch of Rockfish

Thompson, Capt. Joseph (1760), and William "near the meeting house" prior to 1757

Turpin, Thomas 1,000 asst surveyor in 1748. Land purchased 1751 adjoining Lomax, Harmer, King and Gabriel Long under Fendley's Mt. Married aunt of T. Jefferson.

Taliaferro, Richard, from Spotsylvania Co.; purchased some lands by 1745. 1746 8,000a. Rucker's Run opposite Fendley's Mt down to Thomas Wright and up Tye; adjoining Sec. Carter, James Smith, Luke Carrol, and Richard Powell to Barringer's order, crossing spurs of Tobacco Row Mt. to Daniel Watkins; land above Howard Cash's on Thrasher's C., on Franklin's C., and Higginbotham's upper entry on Buffalo towards Baukstone's Mt. Died prior to 1750.

Taliaferro, Benjamin prior to 1750 on Thrasher's C., and later Franklin C. 1,200a

Taliaferro, John, 400 a. 1750 branches of Franklin and Moll's C.

Taliaferro, Madam Zachariah 740 a. 1750 branches of Buffalo and Horsley's C. Wife of sea captain.

Tullos Richard 1,000 a. on Harris C.

Tucker, Drury Sr. and Jr., Mathew 100 a.+ in 1748

Terrel, Joel, Henry, Micajah, and Richmond 200a+ branches of Rockfish ca. 1751

Turner, Teresha, Andrew and Stephen ca. 1748Tuman, Benjamin 150a. 1748 east branches of Hat C.

Trotter, William 133a+ ca. 1748

Tilley, Henry 1752

Tate, Charles 1760

Tyler, Charles 256 a. 1753 head branches Swan C.

Tindal, Benjamin 1756

Tyre, William 1751 Tyre, Reubin 1760

Upton, Thomas F&I War

Verdiman, ?

Via, John 1761 miller

Vaughan, William White 1758

Veale, Carnaby and son William by 1761

Vines, William by 1761

Woods, James 350 a. 1747 s. branch Rockfish. Also Archibald Jr.,
 Michael Sr., and Jr., Richard, Samuel, Joshua, and Josiah
 Watkins, Joel 630 a. from Prince Edward. 1751 Cedar C., branch of
 Pedlar
 Wilson, Goerge 1757, tenant
 Wilson, Thomas 1757
 Walton, Alexander 1747 Rockfish area Walton, William 1751
 Wright, Thomas, William Sr., and Jr., Jacob, John, Robert, Augustine,
 James, Francis David, and Achilles 366a+. Land acquired
 throughout Albemarle period
 Walker, William 1749 land entered by Geo. Braxton
 Warren, James Sr. (1747) and Jr. (1758)
 Warren, John 2,400a 1747. Branches of Rocky Run of Buffalo, both
 side of Buffalo Ridge, partner of Joshua Fry. Boundary included
 Old Folly copper mine
 Ware?, Edward and John ca. 1754
 Whittle, Mathew and Joseph 1,000a ca. 1746 on Porridge C. and Rocky
 Run
 Williams, Thomas, John, William, and Moses ca. 1753
 Watts, Thomas 100a. 1747 on Pedlar at the Trap ford
 Watts, William 1753 near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Watts, George 1748 Horseley's C,
 Willowby, Hugh (1749), John (1746) 400 a.
 WilliaSimon 1759
 Whitworth, Abraham 1746 Rockfish
 Wakefield, Henry 1750 on RockfishW
 Walsh, John 100a+ 1753 Horseley's C. of Pedlar
 White, Robert died 1755
 Wingfield Thomas 1761 Witshire, Joseph 1761
 Wetherford, Larkin 1760 overseer West, Francis 1760 joynber
 West, Thomas 1761
 Waters, Francis 1760
 Woodroof, Nathaniel 1756 Family from Spotsylvania, Caroline Co.
 David, moved to Alb. in 1750, died in 1760.

TABLE II
Place Names Before 1761

Aberdeen - estate of Richard Taliaferro, near Thrasher's C. & Buffalo R.
 Bald Friar Mt. - by 1745 near George Monroe, George Taylor, 1753 property of Thomas Crawley
 Blankstone's Mt. - near Tobacco Row Mt. before 1746, near Higginbotham's land on Buffalo River
 Barry's Mt. - 1755, Samuel Spencer, near Rucker's Run
 Bearfield - near Piney River, 1748
 Bear Mt. - near 1753 Richard Shelton & John Harvie, near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Beaver Branch & Harris C. - of Rockfish, 1746 Thomas Thompson
 Beaver Creek - 1749 of Buffalo R., near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Beaver Pond - 1755 W. Cabell Jr., near Tobacco Row Mt., Huff's & Puppie's C.
 Bellevet - Robert Rose, home of 1748
 Blue Ledge - early name for Blue Ridge Mts.
 Bolling's Creek - near Lynchburg, 1743 named for Col. John Bolling of Henrico
 Buck Branch - of Pedlar, near Horsley's C., 1745 William Mills
 Buffalo Islands - n. side of Fluvanna, 1742 near land of James Christian
 Buffalo Island Meadows - 1749 Roseland, near Capt. Lynch's
 Buffalo Ridge - near Buffalo River & Harris C., John Harvie, 1745
 Buffalo River - 1738, John Carter land grant
 Cabell, William Ferry Ordinary - 1747 at Swan Creek across to Samuel Spencer
 Cabell, William Fluvanna Ferry - to James Fendley, 1748
 Cabell's Grove - 1752 near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Cabell's Mill Creek - 1753 Charles Stanger
 Cabell's Road - 1741 from Swan Creek to Lickinghole Chapel
 Castle Creek - of Tye R., 1740 Hugh Dobbins, Jr. near The Pirest
 Cattail Marsh - near lower side of Pedlar R., 1745 Ambrose Mills
 Cedar Creek - branch of Pedlar R., 1751 Joel Watkins Gladstone
 Christian's Path - near Owen's Creek, before 1747 near John Joslin
 Court House Road, The - led to Scottsville 1745-1761
 Crawford's Gap - named for David Crawford, ca. 1750's near Tobacco Row Mt.
 Cub Creek - near Tye & Thrasher's C., 1745 Peter Jefferson
 Cuckhold's Creek - 1750 Thomas Shannon
 Dancing Creek - 1745 Thomas Mills

Davis Creek - of Rockfish, 1744
 Davies, Nicholas Road - river road from Glover's old plantation to "as far as he thinks fit" in 1743
 Davis, Nicholas Ferry - across Fluvanna, 1753
 Davis, Nicholas Road - from Blue Ridge falls to Beaver C. in 1746
 Davis, Robert Ford Road - to Howard Cash's plantation in 1745
 Davis, Robert Mill Creek - before 1747, land of Atkins, Thomas Camp, Nathaniel Davis
 Dutch Creek - 1741-2, named by German community, also German C., Nassau C., near Harmer & King and Rucker's Run
 Dutch Mt. - 1752 Daniel & Nehemiah Thornton
 Elk Creek - near Tye R. & Hat C., land of James Dickie, 1750
 Elk Forest Lowgrounds - near Cub C., 1745 Peter Jefferson
 Elk Island Creek - 1748 James Freeland
 Elk Pasture - near n. branch of Pedlar & a head branch of Buffalo R., 1745 William Norris
 Fendley's Creek - by 1742, named for explorer John Fendley
 Fendley's Creek - by 1742
 Fendley's Ferry Road - 1743 construction to Thomas Jones' plantation
 Fendley's Ferry Road - to Samuel Stevens, 1747
 Fendley's Gap - named after John Fendley, later renamed Warwick's Gap Fendley's Mt.
 Fishing Creek - by 1748, renamed Allen's Creek, present day Amherst
 Fitzhugh's Mill - 1748
 Floyd's Camp - referred to on Archibald Woods' Sr., patent s. side Piney R. near The Priest
 Fluvanna Islands - Possum Island, Piney Island, Buffalo Island (Albemarle, Buckingham, & Amherst)
 Fluvanna River - now the James River from Goochland through Lynchburg (from Flumen Anna); earliest settler W. Cabell, 1738
 Franklin's Creek - 1746, Richard Taliaferro, near Thrasher's C. & Buffalo River (Old) Folly Copper Mine - at Rocky Run & Buffalo Ridge, mined before 1750
 Fox Hall - Amherst home of ca. 1745
 Geddes - Robert Rose home built by 1748
 Gilbert's Creek - renamed Mayo's C., 1737 William Mayo near Swan C., & Midway Mills 1746
 Goose Creek - near lower side of Pedlar R., 1745 Ambrose Mills
 Great Bend of the Fluvanna, The - near William Horsley before 1743
 Great Falls, The - of Rockfish R., below 1744 land of James Shepherd

Grey's Point - 1748, near Piney R.
 Gum Branch - of Racoon Creek, Charles Hulsie, 1744
 Harris' Creek - 1743, land of Col. George Carrington
 Harvie, John Tye River Road - from mouth of Tye River to branches
 of Harris C. in 1745
 Hat Creek - near Rucker's Run & tye, settled in late 1730's Col. W.
 Randolph
 Hat Creek Mill - 1750, exploded 1750
 Henderson's Mill
 Hiccory Creek - 1745 by John Burns, John Small
 Higginbotham's Mill - near Buffalo River, constructed by 1745
 Higginbotham's Mill Path - near Owen's C. & 1747 Charles Lavender,
 1745 across Buffalo to Harvie's Road
 Hill's Camp - Henry Fass 1740, near Piney R. & The Priest
 Horseshoe Mt. - occupied by William Burns in 1751
 Horsley's Creek - of Pedlar R., Holcomb property, before 1744
 Hughes' Creek - 1750, partly land of Joseph Blair
 Huff's Creek - 1747 Richard Snowden Kirkhead, west of Amherst
 Humpback Stone - named by Charles Rodes before 1750, near
 Thomas Langford's land
 Indian Camp Creek - near Tye & Hat C., James Dickie, 1750
 Indian Creek- of Piney River, 1744 John Harris
 Jack's Island - of Little Pedlar, 1745 John Bolling
 Joe's Creek - near s. fork of Rockfish, Rucker's Run, 1742 James
 Nevil, Sr., flows into Tye River
 Jones Ford - on Tye River, referred to before 1746
 Jones' Camp - referred to 1740 Archibald Woods' Sr., patent, s. side
 Piney River near The Priest
 Joplin's, Thomas Ferry - across the Rockfish, 1746
 Key's Church - now in Fendley's Gap; by 1745; oldest church in
 Nelson; of Purgatory Swamp, near W. King's land
 Lawrence's Creek - 1748 Escot Matlock
 Lewis' Creek - 1742 Charles Lewis, near Tye River
 Little Cove, The - 1746 Arthur Osborn, near Harmer & King lines
 Little Mt. - 1740 near south branch of Tye
 Little Mt. Pleasant - 1745 Michael Thomas Jr., near branch of Pedlar
 & Harris Creek
 Little Owen's Creek - near Fluvanna, Capt. William Megginson, 1749
 Little Pedlar River - alias Harris Creek; settled by Rev. Robert Rose,
 1740
 Little Rockfish - 1745, George McDaniel
 Lomax's Creek - 1742 Charles Lewis, near Tye River

Lynch's Gap - named after Capt. John Lynch, near Fendley's Gap & Rucker's Run, 1746, s. fork of Rockfish
 Mohoc - possibly Mohawk outpost, late 17th c. in present Nelson Maidenhead Mt. - 1740 near land of William Woods near Hempfield
 Maple Creek - near Tobacco Row & Bolling C., 1749 branch of Pedlar
 Maple Run Church - near Clifford by 1745
 Marrow Bone Mt. - occupied by William Burns in 1751
 (The) Meadows - near Secretary's Road, 1746
 Meriwether's Branch - of Rockfish, by land of Jeremiah Marrow
 Midway Mills - William Cabell's land, near Warminster
 Monahassanugh - Monacan Indian settlement on James
 Maloy's Camp - referred to an Archibald Woods Sr.'s patent; s. side Piney R., near the Preist.
 Maple Run - of Piney R., 1753 Edward Watts
 Megginson's Ferry - Greenwood area, 1756
 Mobiley's Creek - 1750 James Mobiley
 Molls' Creek - 1750 John Taliaferro's, near Thrasher's and Franklin's
 C
 Moorman - Lynch Ferry - over Fluvanna to Beford; 1757 near present Lynchburg
 Morrison's branch of Rockfish, 1746 William Morrison
 (William) Morrison's Ordinary - Rockfish Valley
 Mt. Pleasant - near 1744 Jonathan Woodson; near head branch of Buffalo, 1744 Hugh Wilson.
 Naked Creek - near Rose's land, 1749
 Naked Grounds - near Harris C. and Donnolly's Cabin, 1749
 Nevil's Creek - 1745 Henry Thomas, Named for Capt. James Nevil Sr.
 Nurking? Mill - near Chiswell's by Rockfish Gap, 1750
 Old Indian Camp - near Tye R., 1741 Charles Lewis
 Owen's Creek - 1743 Hugh Denham
 Pea Mt. - near Rockfish, James Eldredge
 Peavine Mt. - near Rucker's Run and Fendley's Gap, 1746
 Pedlar River - Thomas Watts grant; before 1748
 Pilot Mt. - 1750 Samuel Morill
 Piney River - 1738 John Carter land grant in modern Amherst
 Piney Woods - 1748 survey of R. Rose, 1870 a. along Piney R.
 Porridge Creek - 1748 land of Robert Christian
 Possum Creek - 1757 Richard Jone Phipps
 (The) Priest Mt. - near Tye R., s. side Piney R., before 1740
 Puppies' Creek - 1745 John Watkins' and Richard Taliaferro; near Buffalo R.
 Purgatory Swamp - 1751 Walter King's land in Dutch C. area
 Quirauk - Algonquin Indian name for Blue Ridge

Raccoon Creek - of Tye R., 1747 John Elliot
 Raccoon Falls - near property of Robert Bolling, 1742
 Ragged Mts - upper side of Dutch Tract, 1746 Leonard Phillips
 Raven Creek - of Buffalo R., 1747 William Donathan
 Rennolds' Ordinary - Wilderness Run, 1749
 Red Hill - estate of Charles Ellis in Amherst, 1750's
 Rich Cove - of Rockfish, 1739 James Lewis
 Rockfish, The Town at - eastern base of Blue Ridge near Rockfish
 Gap; at the head branches of Rockfish R. and south branches of
 Meechum's R. Organized ca. 1740.
 Rockfish Ford
 Rockfish Gap - named for Rockfish River, known by 1730's.
 Rockfish Gap Road - to the D.S. Road in Albemarle, 1745
 Rockfish Meeting House - Presbyterian Church in Rockfish Valley
 near Wintergreen. Established in the late 1730's, re-organized
 in the 1740's.
 Rockfish River - in both Nelson and Albemarle, 1730's patents by
 Allen Howard
 Rockfish River Fort - 1754-5, built on Landon Hughes' land near the
 river
 Rockhouse Creek - near Tye R., before 1746
 Rocky branch - of Buffalo R., 1744
 Rocky Creek - entered Fluvanna from north, near Buffalo R., 1749
 Rocky Run - near n. fork Piney R., Edward Manion, 1746
 Rose's Creek - of Piney R., named for Rev. Rose
 Rose Isle - Rose's home on Tye R., before 1747
 (Robert) Rose's Tye River Road - from Rose's property to Leak's
 plantation, 1745
 Rucker's Run - near Harmer & King and Dutch settlement; near Tye
 at foot of Fendley's Mt. named for Rucker family, John and
 Ambrose
 Rutledge's Creek - 1750 Moses Higginbotham
 Salt Creek - near Pedlar R. and Horseley's C., 1745 William Mills
 Saint Anne's Parish - organized ca. 1742, covered Old Albemarle
 County
 Secretary's (Carter's) Mill Creek - n. side Buffalo R.; 1740's
 Secretary's (Carter) Road - from Carter's property in Albemarle
 mountains to Tye R. By way of Fendley's Gap, Fluvanna, and
 Harvie's Road, 1738- Seven Islands - 1746 Drury Tucker in
 Fluvanna R.
 Smith mt. - near Beaver C. and Tobacco Row Mt; 1758 Caleb Worley
 grant
 Soms Island - of Little Pedlar R., 1745 John Bolling

Spring Hill - 1742 estate of John Reid at Davis C. of Rockfish R.
 Steven's branch - of Rockfish - 1745 Henry Swinney, near the Dutch
 settlement
 Stone House Creek - 1743, near Sec. Carter's Tye and Pedlar lands
 Stoney Creek - of Rockfish, 1749
 Stoney Ridge - near Tobacco Row Mt., property of Rose by 1744
 Stony Run - of Buffalo R., 1747 James London
 Stovall's Creek - 1744 George Stovall Sr., near Campbell County
 Sugar Loaf Mt. - occupied by William Burns, 1751
 Swann Creek - runs into Fluvanna near Warminster, property of W.
 Cabell, named before 1737
 Swann Creek Mt. - near Swann C., 1746 road order
 Taylor's Creek - near Rockfish, 1741 John Dobbins
 Tent branch - of Davis C., 1755 William Wright
 Thrasher's Creek - named for John Thrasher, 1741
 Three Ridge Mt. - near Tye and Hat C., 1750 James Dickie
 Tobacco Row Mts. - near Buffalo R., before 1743
 Trap Ford - of Pedlar R., 1747 Thomas Watts
 Tusculum - Rose home, built ca. 1753
 Twelve Rocks - 1750 fishing location near Edward Manion
 Tye River - 1739 James Churchill, named for explorer Allen Tye
 Tye River Ferry - 1748 at mouth of Tye
 Tye River Thoroughfare - near land of Col. John Henry before 1743;
 James Taylor 1753; intersected courthouse road; continued to
 Swann's C. in 1746.
 Tye River West Road - road cleared from mouth of Tye to Tobacco
 Row Mt., 1747
 Variety Mills - constructed by Dr. Cabell, 1750's, s. of Arrington
 Verdiman's Creek - George Stovall Sr. 1744, near Campbell County
 Wagon Road - before 1746 through Dutch C. settlement; also known
 as Dutch Thoroughfare before 1752; along Rockfish
 branches; near John Monaca, John Schneider
 Watt's Creek - land of Dr. Cabell, rented to D. Jarratt, 1758
 White Plains - home of William Loving
 Wilcox's Road - near Buffalo R. and Naked C.; before 1749
 Wilderness Run - above Pedlar R., 1749
 Wilderness Swamp - 1749 Isham Davis
 Wrack Island Creek - 1748 James Christian

Note: This list is not complete, and some other place names are
 mentioned in the text. Some places may inadvertently be outside the
 area of Old Amherst, and some may overlap as duplicate names.
 Dates and names refer to first extant mention of area in land records.

Sources include Rose's Diary, A. Brown's list of earliest settlers, Albemarle deed books, Goochland deeds, and Virginia Land Office records.

TABLE III

1776 Soldiers from Pension Application in the National Archives

FIFTY PENSION APPLICATIONS

Aaron, William 1752?- Enlisted Nov. Northern campaign.
Kennedy, Jesse Enlisted with SJC.
Amminet, John 1755-1833. Resided in B, enlisted in A. Christian's Indian expedition.
Barnett, James Wounded at Point Pleasant.
Bibee, Thomas ca. 1734 -beyond 1834. Born Goochland, mo to A before Revolution.
Bowling, James A. 1752-1836. Enlisted in A 1775. At Great Bridge.
Brown, John d. 1822 Bunker Hill, Canada, Daniel Morgan.
Brown, Stark 1756-1840.
Carpenter, Benjamin 1754.
Cartwright, Jesse 1752-1832. Father of Peter, the Methodist minister.
Cash, Bartlett 1757-1835. Fought Cherokees.
Cash, John 1760- b in A.
Camm, William, 1757- Sept. against Indians at Ft. McIntosh. Helped build Ft. Hambleton. Born Cecil County, Md.
Coffey, Osborn, 1759-1840.
Conner, Daniel, 1748-1822. N.
Cotrell, James 1758-? Guarded deserters from Amherst to Williamsburg.
Demaster, John, captured at Long Island. Tye R., N.
Dillard, James, 1755-1832 . Grandson of first JP. Enlisted Feb. Cadet under SJC.. Lived at Amherst C.H.
Franklin, James son-in-law of Henry Landon davies. 10th Va. Reg. ; D. 1813. Gregory, Thomas, d. 1814 SJC. Became prisoner.
Hardy, John. Enlisted in C'ville 1775. Helped take 3 ships at Gwynn's Island.
Harell,?William. 1775 militia.
Harris, William 1748-. b. Goochalnd.
Higginbotham, Benjamin. 1757- Drove cattle to W'burg under Capt. Sam H.

Higginbotham, Col James. 1729-1813. Recruiting officer. Benjamin H. managed plantation.

Higginbotham, William. Continental line.

Hosick, William. 1745-1819.

Ison, Elijah. 1757-

Johnson, Thomas 1744-1834? SJC and Daniel Morgan. Went to Quebec.

Jones, Josiah, m 1752- b. Cumberland. Served as armorer. Fought Cherokees.

Jones, Thomas 1745 - Progenitor of Jonesboro.

Jopling, Thomas, 1757-1833. 9th Va. Reg. N.

Key, George, 1753-1836. SJC. Gwyn's Is., NC, NJ.

Lyon, Edward, 1752-1823. Fought in 1775.

Montgomery, William 1757-1832. SJC Recruiting officer.

Morrison, Ezra, 1756-1844. 2nd G. Reg. with Fla. Scout. 2nd Va. Reg.

Penn, William 1745-1777. b. Caroline Co. 1st Va. Dragoons. July 4th warrant issued to brother Gabriel Penn, commissioner of Buckingham District for use of £250 for purchase of supplies. See CVSP, VIII, 236. Slaughter, Francis, 1755- Capt. John Jameson's 1st Light Dragoons.

Pryor, William, 1752- b. Pedlar R. 1773 mo to Kanawha R. Earlier remembered Braddock's defeat. Driven back by Indians. Fought at Point Pleasant. Driven back again in 1776. Served as spy and procured corn. Fought Shawnees under Micajah Goodwin. A.

Purvis, George, 1757-1838. b. Caroline Co. Volunteered 1775. Re-enlisted 1776 at Key's Gap.

Schumaker, Zedekiah, 1754-, b. Henrico. Lived at Great Kanawha until driven by Indians. 1775 to Richmond to procure flour. Black driver turned wagon over & broke Smith's back, Nelson..

Temple, Joyn 1758-. SJC. 6 years service.

Tuggle, John, 1753 - Capt. Clough Shelton in 10th Va. Reg.

Tyler, Daniel, 1755-1845. SJC in 6th Va. Reg.

Walton, Tilman, 1760-1831.

Webster, John, 1759-1833.

Welch, Joseph, ?-1825. SJC. John Garland schoolmate.

West, Bransford, 1754-1843. b. Chesterfield. Both 1775 and 1776. Nelson.

Capt. James Higginbotham commanded June 1775 company to W'burg. Capt. William Fontaine of Regulars Fall 1775 Major Daniel Gaines of Fall Batt ; Capt. Nicholas Cabell and Capt. Gabriel Penn of Fall Minute Companies. Combined May 1776 Capt. Cabell fought at Great Bridge. Capt. Samuel J. Cabell of 1st Rifle Co. March 1776. 6th Va. Reg. dislodged Dunmore at Gwynn's Is. July 1776. Joined GW at Elizabethtown, NJ late Sept. Christmas at Battle of Trenton, Mathew Snook captured there. John Phillips and Thomas Alfred, James Becknal died in July. John Deaver died Sept. Capt. James Franklin (later Clough Shelton's) Company of 10th. Va. Foot Commissioned Nov. 19, 1776.; Steven Ham, fifer, 2nd Va. Reg.

Capt. Clough Shelton

Thomas Jones Dec. 25 Sgt.; William Johnson Nov. 21 Sgt.; Richard Harrison Cpl.; Joseph Coleman Cpl.; Cpl. John Ellis Jan. 2 Drummer Jeremiah Walker Pvt. Henry Walker, James Peyton, Henry Tuggle, John Ammonet, Charles Tuggle, John Bowman, James Campbell, Peter Francisco, Levy Thomas, Noel Battles?, Thomas Jones, William Hosack, William Beckham, James Toner, James Johnson, Cpl Thomas Jones, Cpl William Jones, Capt John Ware, Pvt. James Simmons, William Chandler, John Omminate, Shadrack Battles (Dec. 3), George Bonds, Thomas Croucher, Charles Gibson, James Byrnes, John Ware, Robert Brown, Nicholas Jones, John White, Isham Thacker, James Shasteen (deserted 1777), Peter Diamond (deserted), William Henderson, James Smith, William Aaron, John Phelps, Jeremiah Burnett Incomplete

Capt. Samuel J. Cabell

1st Lt. Benjamin Taliaferro, 2nd Lt. John Jordan, Sgt. Ralph Jopling, Sgt. Samuel Ayres, Sgt. Thomas Burfoot, Sgt. William Coffee, Sgt. Edward Cox, Cpls. Thomas Dickerson, John Josling, George Creasey, Drummers Matthew Snook, James Weeks, Osborn Coffee, Pvts. John Carpenter, William Johns, George Key, Bennoni Goldsmith, William Burford, John Tyree, Ptolemy Handsbrough, Littlebury Coleman, Robert Pollard, Benjamin Wright, Achilles Deavenport, Absolem Stratton, George Munroe, Reuben Nevill.

Probably some 200 soldiers served in 1775-6.

TABLE IV
FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR SOLDIERS 1754-1760
ALBEMARLE COUNTY AND AMHERST AREA RESIDENTS

OFFICERS

Nevil, James Jr.
Ellis, Charles
Hunter, John
Thomas, Cornelius
Freeman, John
Woods, John
Tuly, Charles
Woods, William
Brown, Jacob
Greer, Andrew
Wakefield, Charles
Matin, William
Martin, Davis
Cotrell, Thomas
Sale, John
Penn, Gabriel
Banks, Linn
Fitzjarrall, James
Upton, Thomas
Cabell, William Jr.
Higginbotham, James Sr.
Fry, Joshua
Lewis, Davis

ENLISTED MEN

Wier, Edward	Wakefield, William
Powell, Thomas	Wakefield, Henry
Allen, Malcolm	Hughes, Charles
Powell, Richard	Hughes, Aaron
Roach, Ashcroft	Depriest, Langsdon
Hensley, Benjamin	Depriest, John

Henson, William
Powell, John
Spolden, Edward
Stinett, Benjamin
Guffey, Henry
Williams, William
Carter, Solomon
Fowled, Joshua
Hix, John
Salling, George Adam
Bryan, John
Davis, Davis
Randel, James
Pryor, Nicholas
Burton, Caleb
Davis, Isham
Smith, Jacob
Shoemaker, William
Pryor, William
Stockton, Samuel
Jameson, Thomas
Alexander, Hugh
Pogece, Robert
Wallace, John
Gaudilock, Adam
Woods, Michael Jr.
Ramsey, Bartholomew
Randolph, Henry
Stockton, William
Kincade, James
Harbet, Thomas
Gass, David
Howard, Abraham
Grubbs, Thomas
Cowne, John
Brackenridge, George
Pogue, William

Glen, James
Robertson, James
Crawford, Charles
Bigs John
McAnally, John
McWhorter, Robert
Prior, Richard
Lively, Mark
Puller, Henry
Bratchy, William
Lane, John Burk
Cash, Stephen
Henson, Philip
Becknel, William
White, James
Brenton, Henry
Woods, Joshua
Jameson, Alexander
Maupin, Daniel
Maupin, John
Mullins, Mathew
Woods, Samuel
Whiteside, William
Martin, James
Morrison, Michael
Morrison, James
Lackie, Adam
McMullen, Alexander
Smith, Lawrence
Hughes, Mathias
Israel, Michael
Cartle, William
Ryalty, Daniel
Baldock, Levy
Baldock, Richard
Forbus, William
Miller, Samuel

West, Francis
Dawson, Henry
Thompson, James
Newman, Joseph
Stratton, John
Barnet, Robert
Buckner, John
Burton, Caleb
Dailey, John
Fowler, Joshua
Jennings, Miles
Lewis, John
Morrow, Richard
Rucker, John Sr.
Smith, Jacob
Woodson, Obadiah

Bailey, Richard
Wells, James
Thompson, William
Jones, Thomas
Bailey, Henry
Been, John
Burdar, James
Calloway, William Jr.
Ellison, Francis
Holland, James
Jennings, Solomon
Little, Mark
Randolph, Henry
Saunders, James
Taylor, George Sr.

Sources: Hening; Amherst O.B.; A. Brown

FOOTNOTES

Notes Part I (Chapters I and II)

1) T. H. Biggs, Geographic and Cultural Names in Virginia, Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, Information Circular #20, 1974. This is extremely useful for pinpointing county localities since the places are arranged alphabetically with county citations. The list includes place names, water, features, landforms, forests, etc. Additionally, topographic maps can be found for 7.5 minute quadrangles of the Amherst-Nelson area. These include Charlottesville #131-3, 153-6, 106. Again see the Virginia Division of Mineral resources, Charlottesville, for copies of these maps.

2) Richard V. Dietrich, Geology and Virginia, p. 164.

3) Ibid., p. 57.

4) Ibid., p. 58.

5) H. E. Wright and David G. Frey, editors, The Quaternary of the United States, p. 624. This was the Thays River.

6) Dietrich, p. 165.

7) Ibid., p. 142.

8) Geological Survey Map of Virginia, 1963.

9) W. R. Brown, Geology and Mineral resources of the Lynchburg Quadrangle, Va. Virginia Division of Mineral resources, Bulletin # 74. These area geological studies also give the origin dates of the various rock formations.

10) E. H. Ern, Geology of the Buckingham Quadrangle, Va., Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, Report of Investigations #15.

11) H. J. Werner, Geology of the Vesuvius Quadrangle, Va., Report of Investigations 37.

12) Map Showing Distribution of Quartzite, White Marble, Mineral Deposits and Quarries in the James River-Roanoke River Manganese District, Virginia, G. H. Espenshade & John Rodgers, 1940.?

13) . A. S. Furcron, James River Iron and Marble Belt, Va. Division of Mineral Resources, Bull.. #39, p. 60.

14) James River Basin Comprehensive Water Resources Plan, Division of Water resources, 5 volumes. This study provides a detailed breakdown for river and stream activity for the region. The havoc wreaked by Hurricane Camille and Agnes have produced a flurry of studies by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Va. State Office of Civil Defense and others on the effects of these catastrophes. Sweet Briar College has undertaken a number of environmental studies on the impact of Camille on vegetation and the soil. A similar project has been completed by a Task Force from the University of Virginia. See "Channelization Effects on Stream Productivity in Nelson County, Va. June 2 to Aug. 22, 1975;" Gwenn Clark, student project director, fifty-eight pages. The most vivid and warrowing historical episode ever to impinge on the consciousness of the area (especially Nelson County), the flood itself (1969), lies outside the scope of this book. The author would refer interested readers to Jerry Simpson's Torn Land, J. P. Bell, 1970, an extremely controversial portrayal but the only comprehensive personalized account available. On the other hand, there is the scenic splendor of Crabtree Falls with a drop of five hundred feet. Along with Niagara Falls, it is the highest vertical rapids east of the Mississippi. Buffalo Springs in Amherst is one of the best known springs east of the Blue Ridge.

15) County Mineral Files, Va. Division of Mineral resources, Nelson (1970 and Amherst [1974]).

16) Dietrich, p. 39.

17) Economic Data Sheets, Nelson Co., p. 36; Amherst Co., p. 39.

18) Ibid., Nelson, p. 36.

19) Ibid.

20) Ibid., Amherst, p. 39.

21) Ibid., Nelson, p. 36.

22) Ibid., Amherst, p. 39.

23) There is a tantalizing reference in a 1848 geological survey of a copper mine in Amherst: "Tradition say that copper, gold and silver were shipped from the mine to England; and there are papers showing that the ores were shipped down the James River in canoes." See "A Plan and Prospectus and Geological Survey of the Amherst Copper Mine, Virginia, 1848." Thomas Jefferson in Notes from Virginia, p. 26, seems to rule this out by stating in the 180s that the only gold discovered in Virginia was found on the north side of the Rappahanock. This categorical statement omits several areas of the state with proven gold reserves, including Buckingham County where gold in commercial quantities was marketed.

24) T. L. Watson, Mineral Resources of Virginia, p. 257. A number of mineral from Nelson including garnets, were shown at the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 in London. See the Historical Collections of the Virginia Historical Society for that year.

25) This precious mineral is found two miles from Lowesville and an equal distance from the James River. See Watson, p. 387.

26) Ibid., p. 542.

27) Ibid., p. 239.

28) Kathleen Bruce, Virginia Manufacture in the Slave Era, pp. 82; 103.

29) Ibid., p. 99.

30) J. L. Campbell, Geology and Mineral resources of the James River Valley, p. 27.

31) See Bruce, ibid., for the best account of the antebellum iron industry in Virginia and its locations. Nelson ores were not regarded as high quality. See Watson, p. 407.

Also the Lake Superior ores came to supplant Virginia manufacture of local ores in the late nineteenth century.

32) Watson, p. 58.

33) William B. Rogers, A Reprint of the Annual Reports and Other Papers of the Geology of the Virginias, p. 391.

34) Jefferson, ibid., p. 29.

35) Watson, p. 58. Nelson marble was exhibited also at the St. Louis Exposition around the turn of the century.

36) Furcron, p. 31. Furcron also cites an old brick factory at Bent Creek built with mortar from the lime of these deposits (p. 68).

37) Ibid., p. 110.

38) Jefferson, p. 27.

39) The Prospectus is a sixteen page document including a map of the site; the colonial heritage of Amherst copper mining, a brief reference to the miners (largely Cornish); profits of other British mining outfits (the Amherst project was conceived by British investors); the act of incorporation; and the company's constitution and by-laws. In 1848 the site included a 720 acre tract. The capital investment was estimated to be \$500,000 in 10,000 shares. Shipments of the finished product were to be marketed to Baltimore and Boston via the James River Canal. Forty-six laborers were to be employed in the operation. William Barton Rogers and Forrest Shepherd, UVA geologists, both examined the mine in some detail. Shepherd in his pitch to prospective investors concludes by mentioning the mine's eighteenth century background: "Would Col. Chiswell have continued to work these mines some eight or ten years at least without a

profit? Again, could he have done it with so large a force as was previously employed without incurring a partial or total failure? If Col Chiswell, as was the fact, left the Wythe lead mines (which were at the time and are still profitably worked) for the working of these Copper Mines, does it not show that it was in his mind at least a better business?" (Prospectus, p. 8).

40) Watson, p. 295. Soapstone was put to early uses by the europeans. An example was the hauling of soapstone from the glades for the tombstones of Ebenezer Church. Many old home have chimneys, walls and hearths made from the material. See Furcron, p. 77. As will be shown subsequently, the Indians put soapstone to a number of uses. Another important building rock was brownstone. Midway Mills in Nelson was constructed out of this.

41) Economic Data Sheets, Nelson, p. 35.

42) For a general exposition on Virginia soils, see "Soil: Va's Basic Natural Resource," a Va. Poly. Instit. pamphlet; and Soil Fertility Guides for the Piedmont Region of Va., VPI pamphlets; and the Nelson County Comprehensive Plan, p. 10.

43) Nelson County Comprehensive Plan, p. 10.

44) Furcron, p. 7.

45) Conversation with Bailey Wilkins, Amherst County Extension Office, April 1976. Wheat, for example, prospers in Cecil soil.

46) Furcron, p. 31.

47) Ibid.

48) Ibid., p. 7

49) Wright and Frey, p. 417.

50) Ibid., p. 427.

- 51) Ibid., p. 504.
- 52) Virginia's Timber 1966, pp. 42-43.
- 53) Ibid.
- 54) Economic Data Sheet: Nelson, p. 39.
- 56) Arthur Massey, Virginia Flora.
- 57) See Ern and Werner, op. cit.
- 58) Werner, p. 10.
- 59) Wright and Frey, p. 513.
- 60) Ibid., p. 440.
- 61) Ibid., p. 635.
- 62) Ibid., p. 517.

Footnotes for Chapter 2, beginning with #63

63) Alexander Brown, The Cabells and their Kin, quoting Dr. William Cabell's diary, entry for 1731.

64) See Jefferson, ibid.

65) See James Mooney, "The Siouxan Tribes of the East," B. A. E. Bull. #22.

66) See Gerard Fowke, "Archaeological Investigations on the James and Potomac Valleys," B.A.E. Bull. #23

67) Nelson County One Hundredth and Fiftieth Anniversary, 1957, for Nelson County Day, "Col. Wirt Robinson," p. 50.

68) J. C. Harrington, "The Wirt Robinson Collection," Q. Bull. of the Arch. Soc. of Va., vol. 4, #4, 1950.

69) Nelson County...Day, ibid.

70) David I. Bushnell, "the Five Monocan Tribes of Virginia," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 8, and numerous other works on Virginia Indians and Albemarle County.

71) "Eubank is Successful Hunter," Amherst New-Era Progress, Feb., 1975.

72) Conversation with C. G. Holland, April 1976, Charlottesville.

73) Gordon A. Wiley, An Introduction to American Archeology, two volumes. The first deals with North America. Wiley's study is an excellent recapitulation of American prehistory. The work divides the country into various cultural areas and shows clearly the relationship of the regions.

74) Ibid., volume I.

75) William J. Hranicky, "A Framework for Virginia Prehistory," Q. Bull.,

vol. 28, p. 205. There is much controversy over the terms used for dating sequences.

Holland et al do not accept the appropriateness of this lexicon for Virginia.

76) Wright and Frey, ibid., p. 670.

77) Ibid., pp. 674, 677.

78) Ibid., pp. 633, 632.

79) Economic Data: Nelson, p. 39.

80) Holland conversation.

81) Wright and Frey, p. 516.

82) Ibid., p. 678.

83) Howard MacCord, "The Wingina Site, Nelson County, Virginia," Q. Bull., vol. 28, pp. 169-180. 84) Ibid., p. 169.

85) Ibid., p. 175.

86) Holland conversation. This occurred approximately 500 B. C.

87) Clifford Evans, A Ceramic Study of Virginia Pottery, B. A. E. Bull. #160, p. 149.

88) Holland, "Contributions to the Archeology of Albemarle County," Q. Bull., vol. 4, #4, 1949.

89) Holland conversation.

90) Holland, "Contributions..."

91) See Evans, pp; 69-70. He categorizes all known Virginia pottery as of

1950. All the ceramic and projectile types are named from the sites of the original discoveries and by style of manufacture. There are a number of illustrations to represent the artifacts from Nelson.

92) Evans, pp. 39-40.

93) MacCord, p. 173.

94) Ibid., p. 175. All these materials are now in Colonel MacCord's possession at the Virginia State Library in Richmond.

95) Ibid., p. 174.

96) Evans, p. 31. The "Tice" site includes potsherds, quartz chips, point fragments and an elbow clay pipe.

97) Ibid. the location contains points and some miscellaneous material in some colonial debris.

98) Ibid. Evans surveyed 96 sites in all including the adjacent areas of Buckingham (1), Albemarle (7), Augusta (1) and Campbell (1).

99) Holland conversation.

100) Holland, "Four James River Sites in Middle Course," Q. Bull. vol. 4, #4. Scottsville was particularly prominent as a workshop. Artifacts produced here are widely distributed in the surrounding area.

101) Hranicky, p. 205.

102) Soapstone was too soft, however, for use in weapons or tools.

103) "Indian Trading Traced by UVA Reactor," Beverly Orndorff, Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 12, 1975; Holland and Luckenbach, "Movement of Prehistoric Soapstone in the James River Basin," Q. Bull., vol. 29, #4, pp. 183-203. This procedure was effective because the distinctive trace elements in the soapstone from each site could be typologized by quarry of origin.

104) Holland, ibid., p. 197.

105) Ibid., p. 201.

106) See William P. Cumming, The Discoveries of John Lederer for the annotation of Lederer's second expedition.

107) Holland conversation.

108) Bushnell, quoting the Gabriel Archer Relation in Smith: Collected Works, edited by Arber, pp. xiv-xvi.

109) Ibid., p. 438.

110) MacCord, p. 179.

111) Mooney was the first to claim this location for Monahassanugh. It must be admitted that there is no sure fire proof. Mooney may very well have been influenced by the early archeological digs at Wingina. So might have Bushnell who reached a similiar conclusion. Also, the Auniaga Map of 1608 which Smith's may have been based on, indicates that Monahassanugh was closer to the Fall Line. Some scholars have calimed that the Indian village was in Buckingham or even in Southside, Va. near Petersburg. Although these theories may eventually be proved true, as of now a more persuasive brief can be held for Nelson as the site.

112) See William Myers, "Indian Trails of the Southeast," B.A.E. 42nd Annual Report, map. These trails (some 18 to 24 inches wide) may have followed buffalo tracks.

113) Both Captain John Smith and John Lederer agreed that the Piedmont had a common language.

114) See Philip L. Barbour, ed., The James Town Voyages under the First Charter. Some time the Powhatans reversed this process by heading west to hunt. William Strachey described this peregrination: "In the tyme of their huntings, they leave their habitation and gather themselves into

Companies, as doe the Tartar, and go into the most desart places with their families, where they passe the tyme with hunting and fowling up towards the mountains, by the heads of rivers, where in deed there is plentye of game, for betwixt the rivers the land is not so large belowe that therein breed suffeyent to give them all content." in The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Hakluty Society, 1849. There is very little else said about the Monocans specifically. All that Smith notes is that they dwelt by small streams, living on fruits and roots, and hunted as their main occupation.

116) See Horatio Hale, Tutelo Tribe and Language.

117) Bushnell, quoting Wiliam Byrd I, p. 17.

118) Hale, *ibid*.

119) Bushnell, p. 2.

120) Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region...*, quoting Lederer, p. 39.

121) Cumming, pp. 138, 143. "Monohocan" was Powhatan for sword, another possible origin for "Monocan."

122) *Ibid.*, p. 141; Alvord, p. 40.

123) Joseph and Nestie Ewan, John Bannister and his Natural History of Virginia, quoting Banister, p. 354. "He is accounted a Cockkarora or a brave fellow that keeps his hold, till with swimming, wading and diving he has tired the sturgeon and got him ashore." The process of hunting game was a bit simpler. The Indians would encircle their quarry with fire. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

124) Cumming, quoting Lederer, p. 209.

125) Ewan, pp. 356, 355.

126) See Lean C. Artz, "Native Plants Used by North American Indians," Q. Bull., vol. 29, #2, pp. 80-88.

127) Ibid. 128) Ewan, quoting Bannister, p. 369.

129) Ibid., pp. 374, 391. Bannister also introduced the term "barbecue" to America from the West Indies. He observed that the Indians used no salt.

130) Ibid., p. 391.

131) Jefferson, p. 38.

132) Ewan, pp. 374, 396, 377.

133) Cumming, p. 143, quoting William Byrd, History of the Dividing Line. Byrd talked to Old Bearskin, an isolated Tutelo (Monocan) near the North Carolina border. Lederer stated that the soul of the Monocan dead were possessed by characteristic animal spirits: the angry were invested by serpents, the bloody by wolves and the faithful were bound to dogs.

134) See William F. Fenton and John Gulick, ed., "Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture," B. A. E. Bull. #180, pp. 173, 183, 202.

135) Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 60.

136) Ewan, quoting Bannister, p. 379.

137) Ibid., p. 304.

138) Alvord and Bidgood, p. 31.

139) Cumming, quoting Lederer. See also the Peace Treaty of 1677, official Virginia documents.

140) Walter Stitt Robinson, Indian Policy of Colonial Virginia, p. 121.

141) Fenton and Gulick, p. 6.

142) Fenton and Gulick, p. 87.

143) Ibid., p. 89.

144) Ibid., p. 91.

145) Mooney, p. 17.

146) Douglas s. Brown, The Catawba Indians, p. 29.

147) For a detailed exposition on why the Rickohokeans were probably the Westos, see Brown, ibid. Brown also describes in much detail the negative impact of the Westos on the new proprietary colony of Carolina. Eventually, the British crushed them and the Westos proceeded to live out a fairly docile and tranquil existence in the South Carolina-Georgia border region. See especially Brown pp. 60-67.

148) Fenton and Gulick, p. 32.

149) Ibid., p. 272.

150) Ibid., p. 271.

151) Ibid., p. 116.

152) George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois.

153 This was the year Lederer made his expedition into the western Piedmont and noted the presence of Mahoc.

154) Mahoc appears to be a corruption of Mohawk. This is a very controversial proposition since none of the other sources the author has seen agrees with this. The main reasons for this being a Mohawk settlement are: the identity of the location of Monahassanugh on Smith's map and Mahoc on Lederer's drawing; the hatred of the Iroquois for the Eastern Sioux at this time; the aversion to the location indicated by Lederer's action and the presence of his Susquehannock guide; the absence of Indian activity in the neighborhood; the absence of any reference to the Monocans in this area; and the absence of any plausible alternative theory

for identifying Mahoc.

155) John Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, p. 79.

156) Cumming, p. 72. Another prevalent theory held that the South China Sea was an equivalent distance.

157) Robinson, op.cit. p. 6.

158) Compare the detail of Smith's map and the emptiness denoting the region in

the much later Augustin Herrmann map of the 1670s.

159) See Cumming.

160) B. W. Floyd, "Local Historian...", Amherst New Era-Progress, May 22, 1969, develops this hypotheses..., p. 6.

161) Cumming, p. 152.

162) Ibid., p. 141.

163) Ibid., p. 152, Leerer also remarked that they seemed to be prosperous.

164) Ibid., p. 99, quoting Calvert Papers, I, 260-272, passim.

165) Alvord and Bidgood, p. 89.

166) Swanton, op.cit., p. 201.

167) Alvord and Bidgood, p. 89.

168) Ibid., p. 77.

169) Ibid., p. 81.

170) Wilcomb Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel, p. 44. The

Susquehannocks had captured some unidentified Monocans with the hope of enlisting them against the English. Bacon had the same idea in reverse. He had planned to use the prisoners in a coordinated uprising timed for when his soldiers attacked the Susquehannock position. This worked up to a point, but one of the Monocans panicked and fired at one of the English. Enraged at what he considered typical Indian duplicity, Bacon virtually wiped out Susquehannock and Monocan alike. The prosperous Occaneechi trading community was also obliterated. In Sherwood, "Virginia's Deplorable condition," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, fourth series, IIX, 167.

171) "The 1677 Treaty," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 1906, pp. 296, 292.

172) See Philip A. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, vol. 2, for an example of the panic caused by a 1690 rumor that the Iroquois were to strike into the heart of the colony. Based on the rise and decline of the threat, trade with all Indians was variously restricted or open between 1677 and 1691. See Robinson, op. cit., p. 109.

173) Lawrence H. Leder, The Livingston Indian Records, p. 55. Virginia is first mentioned in the journals in 1677. Throughout most of the negotiations, Colonel Kendall was the Virginia representative but often the governor attended in person.

174) Ibid., p. 70.

175) Ibid., p. 73.

176) Ibid., p. 85.

177) Swanton, op. cit., p. 201.

178) Mooney, p. 1. As was Todirichroone.

179) Christian Feest, "Notes on the Saponi Settlement in Virginia Prior to 1714," Q. Bull., vol 28, pp. 154, 153; Cumming 38, 39, 40. One catches brief

glimpses of specific Tutelo activity in these years. In 1700 according to North Carolinian John Lawson, the Sioux remnants had managed to put the shoe on the other foot, so to speak, by capturing some Iroquois. They planned to mete out a particularly diabolical revenge. The victims were to be pierced by pine needles which were lighted. Forced to dance until collapse, the Iroquois would then be tomahawked to death. In 1712, when fighting proved unsuccessful, the Nottoway attempted to divide and conquer by bribing the Saponi against the Tutelo. The effort proved fruitless. The Tutelo had moved southeast because of the gravitational pull of the fur trade markets. The official colonial records tracing the Tutelo movements are Colonial Office 5: 1316 H 45; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1708-17098, 97, 481; Swainsbury Abstracts, VIII, 84; Executive Journals, III, 296; ibid., 310; C O. 5: 1316, #164, 1-41. These are listed in Robinson, op. cit., p. 121.

181) Wesley F. Craven, Red, White and Black, p. 59, citing the 1669 law (II Hening 274-276). This system of rewards continued to be popular in the colonial development of Old Amherst.

182) Robinson, op. cit., p. 214.

183) Swanton, op. cit., p. 201.

184) Robinson, op. cit., p. 224 citing IV H 103-106.

185) Ibid., p. 214, citing Executive Journals, IV, p. 185.

186) Another interesting sidelight is that some of these Indians stopped off in Orange County near the home of their would be Christanna benefactor, Governor Spottswood. Accomodation proved very strenuous. Many complaints were voiced by the Europeans concerning the Indians' "depraved" and often drunken behavior. Another link between Monahassanugh and Colonial Amherst may have been provided here since the prominent settler Robert Rose was a business and social associate of the governor. See A. G. Grinnan, "The Last Indians in Orange county, Virginia," MVHB, vol 3, pp. 189-190. also see Spottswood letters: 129, 156, 174,; II S 88 ff, 113, 138, 141.

187) Mooney, p. 50-52.

188) Ibid., p. 53.

189) Charles Huson, The Catawba Nation, p. 39.

190) Douglas Brown, p. 180.

191) See Walter Robinson, "Virginia and the Cherokees", in The Old Dominion, pp. 21-40.

192) Executive Journals, IV, 13-15. Thomas Jefferson remembered quite vividly from his youth one such visit to his father's home by the chief Outamete. See Jefferson, p. 272.

193) Jefferson, pp. 45, 60. Jefferson and his associates also had a fairly good overview of Indian history in Virginia and the relationship of the various tribes. He was familiar with the Monahassanoes whom he placed in Bedford and Buckingham. Due to the confusion ensuing from the Iroquois adoption of the Monocans, Jefferson erroneously believed the Tuteloes were closely connected with the Tuscaroras. Ibid., p. 96.

194) Jones, pp. 55, 57-58.

195) Ibid., pp. 62, 54.

196) Jefferson, p. 71.

Footnotes Part II: Introductory Quotes

- 1) Cabell Papers, Accession # 5084, Box I, Folder I.
- 2) Hugh Jones, p. 24.
- 3) Clifford Dowdey, p. 4. (Note by Seaman: this footnote is listed, therefore I include it, but no narrative appears, and apparently was deleted)
- 4) Dowdey quoting William Byrd's Diary, p. 40.
- 5) Amherst Will Book, 1776, pp. 299-306.

Footnotes, Part II, Chapter III

(Note from Seaman: The numbered footnotes below do not seem to follow the order of the empty parentheses left in Chapter III. Presumably an editor intended for someone to place the correct numbers in the parentheses, but this was never completed. That is, Note 1 below does not apparently refer to the first empty parenthesis in Chapter III. We leave in the old footnotes below with the hope they may be useful to the person who undertakes the difficult task of putting in order the footnotes of another writer.)

- 1) See. E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, A Description of the Country: Virginia Cartographers 1607-1881.
- 2) See Daphne Gentry, The Virginia Land Office Inventory. Individual tenancy began in the colony only in 1614. Before then, all land was held communally. After 1624, Virginia was part of the feudal manor of Greenwich. The king was the highest liege lord of this manor. The headright system was established in 1627. From the inception of this system, record keeping was spotty. Often, the certificates were lined on strings. At some later date following the patents, some of these certificates were arbitrarily placed in the land books.
- 3) See August Herrman Map, 1673, legend.

4) Fairfax Harrison, "Westward Exploration between Lederer and Spottswood", VMHB, 1922. Cadwallender Jones made a number of references to the central Piedmont Blue Ridge in this time period.

5) University of Virginia, Alderman Library, Rare Books Room, Map Collection, Accession # 1755.

6) Vernon Crane, The Southern Frontier, p. 71.

7) Hening's Statutes at Large III, pp. 468-469.

8) See Leonidas Dodson, Alexander Spottswood.

9) See Dodson. The two most notable figures for Spottswood in this regard were William Byrd II and the London merchant, Micajah Perry.

10) Dodson, p. 67; p. 223.

11) See Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia. Jones graduated from Jesus College of Oxford in 1716 with a Masters degree and arrived the following year in Virginia to teach philosophy and math. In 1718, he became chaplain to the House of Burgesses. In 1725 (after a visit to England where he wrote his history), Jones was appointed to St. Stephen's Parish in King and Queen County. In 1726, he moved to a pastorate in Maryland. Later, Jones became acquainted with the scientific and artistic circle of Benjamin Franklin.

12) Jones, p. 58.

13) Ibid., p. 46

14) Ibid., pp. 86; 20; 221.

15) Ibid., pp. 97; 225; 231. Jones also foreshadowed the Enlightenment religion of the Revolution through his advocacy of the liberal Hugh Grotius' (1583-1645) The Truth of Religion. Jones goes into much more detail on civil and religious affairs than offered here.

16) Ibid., p. 46.

17) See Alderman Library Map Collection.

18) Frances Walker, The Early Episcopal Church in the Amherst-Nelson Area, p. 8.

19) See the debates in the Journal of the House of Burgesses for 1727.

20) Alfred Percy, The Amherst County Story. Percy states that Trader Hughes was the original settler in Old Amherst, arriving between 1710 and 1720. Hughes is alleged to have married an Indian, Nikiti, and set up a trading post at the Norwood juncture of the two Indian paths. (p.8). Robert Davis, according to Percy, founded a trading station west of the mouth of Otter Creek and married Abadiah, the daughter of Trader Hughes. Percy believes Davis was ejected by Nicholas Davies in the 1750s when he failed to patent land. Davis supposedly lived near the Pedlar river. (p. 8) Allen Tye is held to be the source for the name of the Tye River. He later became an early pioneer into Tennessee. (p. 5) John Findlay, a guide to Kentucky in 1750, may have been the patronym for the mountain, gap and creek of that name. (p. 6)

21) Frances Walker, p. 33.

22) Cabell Papers, ibid., May 6, 1731 patent.

23) Clifford Dowdey, The Golden Age, p. 15 and passim.

24) Ibid., p. 16.

25) Ibid., passim. Byrd's descendants were both Tories and Patriots. William Byrd III and one grandson supported the Briutish; another grandson backed the Colonies.

26) See James Ballegh, White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia, for the most comprehensive treatment of these servants. By 1726, the in-flux of servants was declining because of the increasing number of legal actions taken to protect the rights of servants and the growth of slavery. Bristol and

London were the centers of servant emigration to Virginia. See especially page 38.

28) Robert Louis Stevenson's Kidnapped is a good literary documentary of such occurrences.

29) Jernegan, p. 181.

30) Ibid., p. 55.

31) It is interesting to note that a greater percentage of orphans were cared for by the Colony of Virginia than by the Puritan governments of New England. Ibid., pp. 143-145. See the Virginia law codes of 1705 and 1740. See also IV Hening 208-221. By 1760, all bastard children had to be treated as apprentices. See Ballegh, op. cit., p. 43.

32) James Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish, p. 158. The Staple Act of 1663 dried up Irish exports to the colonies. This particularly hit the woolen and linen industry that had developed in mid-seventeenth century Ulster.

33) Ibid., pp. 161-168.

34) Ibid., p. 157.

35) Ibid., pp. 169; 185; 186.

36) Ibid., pp. 200-325. Most of the Scotch-Irish in Old Amherst were decidedly middle class. Some booked passage to America as indentured servants and worked their way up into the social hierarchy. Another point worth mentioning is the colonial Ulsterman's disdain for aesthetics. Scotch-Irish architecture and fine arts are not considered especially decorative. See ibid., p. 325, quoting an observer's reference to the "drab stolidity" of Scotch-Irish settlements.

37) Klaus Wust, The Virginia Germans. See especially the Hallescher Nachrichten for information on German immigrants 1720-1736. See also, "German Settlements and Immigrants to Virginia," 33rd report of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, 1968, pp. 47-59.

38) Jones, p. 91. The first minister of the Madison community was John Cooper Stoever. He was followed by George Samuel Klug in 1749.

39) West, p. 96. This grant to Samuel Tascheffely is most likely reference to the Nassau community in Old Amherst. The petition for 20,000 acres refers to property "on some of the main branches of the James River next adjoining to the Lands already granted for the settlement of divers families of Swiss and German Protestants which he proposes to import in and to make provision for a large Number..." This grant is not mentioned in the land books. See "Executive Journals of Council," VMHB, vol. XIV, #3, pp. 231-231.

40) Wust, p. 108.

41) Ibid., p. 101, quoting Issac Weld from Fincastle, who wrote the account Travels through the States of North America, third edition, London, 1800, pp. 214-215.

42) Life of Paul Henkel, p. 47, ca. 1800. Henkel later admitted that he was entertained by Amherst County Germans.

43) R. Bennett Bean, The Peopling of Virginia, p. 49.

44) Ibid., p. 70.

45) Ibid., p. 116. This was from a sample of 157 names.

46) Ibid., pp. 152-153.

48) Ibid., p. 203. Bean concludes with the interesting data that the Blue Ridge Indians were taller than the coastal Indians while the Piedmont whites were taller than the Tidewater people. In fact, the Albemarle County planters were the tallest people in Virginia. See pp. 243-245.

49) W. Stitt Robinson, Indian Policy in Colonial Virginia, p. 304.

50) Ibid., pp. 304; 311; citing IV Hening 133 and VIII Hening 393.

- 51) Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade, p. 13.
- 52) Ibid., p. 87.
- 53) Bean, p. 22.
- 54) Curtin, p. 122; p. 157 quoting Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America, four volumes, 1930-1935.
- 55) Curtin, pp. 226-228.
- 56) Ibid., p. 143.
- 57) Ibid., p. 277.
- 58) Ibid., p. 154.
- 59) Gerald Mullin, Flight and Rebellion, p. 154. In 1752, a five percent duty was placed on slaves.
- 60) Ibid., p. 19. The additional expense for slavers and slaveowners can be seen in a further five percent duty placed in 1767.
- 61) Ibid., p. 46.
- 62) Jones, p. 25. Jones's knowledge of Africa was based on William Bosman's A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, second edition, London, 1721, from the Dutch original.
- 63) Jones, p. 93.
- 64) Jernegan, p. 12, quoting Governor Facquier, December, 1766.
- 65) Ibid.
- 66) II Hening 481.

67 See Governor Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 27, 1729, C. O. 1322, 19. The French were perceived by some slaves as potential liberators. This the Virginia planters were especially frightened of insurrection throughout the colonial wars with the French.

Notes Chapter IV

(Note from Seaman: The author's notes for Chapter IV begin with footnote #68, since he continued the notes from Chapter III which end with footnote #67. There is no certainty that the notes in the text correspond with the footnotes at the end of Chapter IV)

68) Alexander Brown, The Cabells and their Kin, p. 36. Brown has the best account of Cabell genealogy available for England and America.

69) Ibid., p. 38.

70) See Cabell Papers, Ibid., Folder I. Dr. Cabell erected the first mill and the first warehouse in Old amherst.

71) Alexander Brown, p. 42.

72) Cabell Papers, ibid. Cabell was delayed in England because a number of close relatives had died and he was required to settle their estates.

73) Ibid. Mayo held extensvie lands in Amelia and Goochland counties. See Goochland Will Book, 1744, p. 448. Philip Mayo probably inherited his Amherst property. Mayo also left a substantial bequest of 50 slaves. Part of Mayo's property was on Mayo's Creek near the Midway Mill. George Carrington was an in-law of Mayo and also came from Barbados. In 1743, Carrington patented 6,000 acres on Harris Creek, above Lynchburg. In 1744, Carrington was adjacent to Philip Mayo on Bridle Creek and Piney Mountain. In 1745, Carrington owned land on Randolph Creek.

74) Executive Journals of Council, VHMB, vol. IV for the year 1738, p. 30. The tract was described as "beginning at ties and Rose's south and southeast to exend towards the mouth of the Rockfish."

75) Goochland Deed Book, p. 100.

76) Goochland Deed Book, Will Codicil, 1745, p. 75,77) Ibid., p. 73. William Randolph III made the unusual provision that his son "shall not be educated

at the College of William and Mary in Virginia nor sent to England on any account whatever." Thomas Mann Randolph was only to have a private tutor. William Randolph III's executor was the historian William Stith who also owned land in Goochland. Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas, was another guardian of the Randolph infant.

78) Executive Journals of Council, ibid., p. 239.

79) Goochland Deed Book, 1745, p. 110. Isham Randolph's mansion in Goochland was "Dungeness." Isham had been educated at William and Mary. He was a good friend of William Byrd II and like Byrd, Isham spent a considerable time in England where he served as the agent for Virginia. Isham was adjutant general of Virginia in 1738 and commanded the Virginia militia during the War of Jenkin's Ear in 1739.

80) Dowdey, The Golden Age, p. 9.

81) Executive Journals of Council, ibid., vol XVI, p. 12. See also Dowdey for further information on Carter.

82) Ibid., vol. XVI, p. 28. George Braxton was prominent on the Committee of Propositions and Grievances. He was heavily involved in trying to prevent frauds on duties of skins and furs. See Journal of the House of Burgesses.

83) See Alexander Brown , "A List of Settlers before 1761," p. 6. John Chiswell served on the Propositions and Grievances Committee with George Braxton.

84) Ibid. p. 14.

85) Ibid., p. 2. Brown states that Bolling was descended from Pocahontas. Bolling bought land in the area in conjunction with Major Richard Kennel and Thomas Edward. Bolling's son was educated in England and lived in Buckingham county.

86) See Executive Journals of Council, ibid., 1738, p. 30 and the Abstract to the Albemarle Patent Book #29961 and other entries 1740s-1750s; also Alexander Brown, "List", p. 14. Harmer served on various committees in

the House of Burgesses including Public Claims, Trade (where he sat with William Nelson and George Braxton), and the Public Levy. See Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1742-1746, pp. 5,6,30,31,63, 117, 212, 236.

87) Executive Journals of Council, XIV, pp. 28; 243 and 358?; and XV, pp. 3, 237. Lewis held land of the Tye "near the old Indian camp."

88) See A. Brown, "List", p. 16. James Lewis in 1739 patented 400 acres on the Rich Cove of the Rockfish River. John Lewis in 1743 received title to 250 acres on the Rockfish.

89) Ibid., p. 20.

90) Abstract of Albemarle Land Grants, #24, 501, and #25, 486.

91) Executive Journals of Council, XIV, p. 229. John Key lived in Goochland as early as the 1730s. In 1740 he sold land to William Stith. It is [thought] his daughter Mary married Robert Dalton. In 1742 Key is mentioned as being a carpenter. See Goochland Order Books, 1744-7? pp. 327, 558, 15.

92) Ibid.

93) A. Brown, "List," p. 8. Davies was a Welsh merchant in Henrico before 1735. He married into the Randolph and Fleming families. By his death, Davies had probably acquired as amny as 15,000 acres in Amherst. His 1745 inventory lists an estate worth £524.10. See Goochland Will Book, 1745, p. 27.

94) Executive Journals of Council, XIV, p. 343.

95) Ibid., XVI

96) Ibid. XV, p. 329.

97) A. Brown, "List," p. 1. Both Anthonys had moved to Bedford by the time of the French and Indian War.

98) Ibid., p. 2. Joseph died before 1748; Richard was a Revolutionary War captain in 1778,

99) Ibid.

100) Ibid. p. 7. Samuel Black became minister of the Rockfish Presbyterian Church. After his ordination, he moved to Virginia. During a ministerial flap over Alexander Craighead in 1740, Black added to the controversy by becoming "notoriously drunk on his way home." Black was not the first Presbyterian minister in Rockfish. John Craig received a degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1733. He was originally from Ireland and interested in Maryland, but in 1734, he changed his location and occupation by moving to Delaware where he became a minister. The Presbytery of Donegal had been organized in Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1732. In 1735 the suggestion was made to send missionaries south. The Lancaster minister, James Anderson, reconnoitered both sides of the Blue Ridge. He probably visited the Rockfish valley. From 1739-1740 Craig served as the itinerant for Virginia. In 1740 he accepted a call to become the minister of Tinkling Spring Church in Augusta. Craig's record of baptisms from 1740-1749, which includes many Old Amherst Presbyterians, can be found in a manuscript in Augusta Stone Presbyterian Church in Fort Defiance.

Craig was assisted in Rockfish Valley by James Robertson. The Synod of 1738 was torn between revivalists and subscriptionists. William Robinson in 1742¹⁷⁴³ heralded the revivalists in this part of Virginia. Alexander McDowell also helped organize the Rockfish Presbyterians in 1742. Black had visited Rockfish in 1743 and he became the third minister there. Rockfish shared its minister and support from Donegal with the Albemarle Mt. Plains Church.

Black ministered to those two churches and Ivy Creek in Albemarle in 1747. Black was called to the South Mt. Church, but refused to move and was officially rebuked by the Donegal group (Donegal Minutes, I, 292-297, 304). Black's suspension was lifted and eventually he became minister of the more prestigious Tinkling Spring Congregation from 1767-1768. Black remained allied to the conservative subscriptionists. His activities in the years before his death ca. 1771 are not known. See also, Howard McKnight Wilson, The Lexington Presbytery, pp. 18, 20, 35, 41. Black ministered to the

Scotch-Irish settlement known as "The Town on Rockfish River." This community extended along the head branches of the Rockfish and the south branches of Mechum;'s River in modern Albemarle. Alexander Brown also lists names of settlers living in the area, but give no time period.

101) A. Brown, ibid., p. 4. By 1749 Christian had increased his entries to 4,000 acres. He also owned land on Wrack Island Creek in 1748 and held Appomattox property.

102) Ibid., p. 4. Descendants of these Christians fought in the Revolution -- namely John, Henry, Charles, Robert and Elijah.

103) Ibid., p. 5. Carroll also owned land on Tobacco Row Mountain, and Baukstone's Mountain.

104) Ibid. The Cashes came from the south side of Rivanna River.

105) Ibid., p. 6.

106) Ibid., p. 8. By 1746 Dobbins owned land up to the Priest Mountain.

107) Ibid. James Dillard, Sr., fought in the French and Indian War. James Dillard, Jr., (1727-1794) fought in the Revolution.

108) Ibid., p. 9. Martin Duncan may also have lived in Old amherst by this time. In 1735 Duncan owned a tract on the Little Byrd in Goochland (See Goochland Abstract, #16, 229). In 1740 Dr. William Cabell bought a sixteen gallon still from him. Robert Rose in later years also referred to this Duncan family.

109) Ibid., p. 10. The Freelands also had land in the Appomattox and Buckingham areas.

110) Ibid. Floyd later moved to Kentucky.

111) Ibid., p. 11. Edmond Gray married Mary, the daughter of Major William Mayol Inb 1746 he bought land on the Appomattox River and then

disappeared from the area. He was probably the son of William Gray, a member of the gentry.

112) The Gaines were descended from an affluent Tidewater family. Bernard Gains Sr., had land in Richmond and Albemarle counties. After his death in the 1740s, this land was vested in William Jordan until his sons reached the age of majority.

113) Ibid., p. 12. Majhor Allen Howard also owned land in Buckingham and on the Slate River. He died in 1765.

114) By 1753 Thomas, Moses, John Sr., and Jr., James, Ben, Samuel, and Josiah Higginbotham had joined the other members of the family and together held some 4,000 acres. See additional information in William Sweeney, The Higginbotham Family. The Higginbothams originally came from England to Barbados in the seventeenth century. John (1695-1744) left the West Indies for Boston in 1716 and then came to Virginia. His son, Moses, bought land on the Buffalo River in 1745 from George Braxton.

115) John Henry emigrated from Scotland to Virginia in 1728. His uncle was the historian, William Robertson.

116) Ibid., p. 13.

117) Ibid., p. 14. William Harris (1712-1788) came from Wales to York County. He married Mary Netherland of Goochland, daughter of one of the justices of the peace. By 1745 William Harris was a justice himself in Albemarle. His daughter Elizabeth married Captain John Digges of Richmond County in 1757. This family also settled in Amherst. William's son Lee, settled on the Rockfish. His niece, Nancy Coleman, arrived later from Spottsylvania with her family in Amherst. William Harris Sr., was deeded property on the north side of the Rockfish by John Digges and Jacob Wright. See Reba Lee, Fitzpatrick's, Colemans and their Kin, esp. pages 342, 373, 374, 377, and 382. (Note by Seaman: since this refers to my family, I may be excused for noting that this note contains a number of errors).

118) Ibid., p. 15.

119) Ibid., p. 16. Charles Lynch was the father of the founder of Lynchburg.

120) Ibid., p. 17.

121) Ibid., p. 18.

122) Ibid., p. 20.

123) Ibid., p. 21.

124) Justice Reid's relatives, Thomas, Andrew, Alexander, John Jr., Alexander Jr., and Adam lived near his three brothers -- Thomas, John and Andrew. All three had migrated from County Down in Ireland to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. From there they moved to Virginia. Sarah, wife of Andrew Reid, was murdered in the summer of 1764 and her husband died the year after. Ibid., p. 22.

125) Ibid., p. 23. In 1737 Samuel Spencer owned land opposite the mouth of Swan Creek in Buckingham County.

126) Ibid., p. 24.

127) Ibid., p. 25.

128) Ibid., p. 26. Richard Taliaferro eventually held title to more than 8,800 acres. This property included an 800 acre tract adjoining the land cited in the text (1745). In 1746 he entered 160 rights and three orders of council; 2,000 acres on Rucker's Run opposite the foot of Findlay's Mountain down to Thomas Wright and up Tye River, 3,000 acres adjoining James Smith on the Buffalo, Luke Carroll, "the late Secretary Carter, and Richard Powell to Barringer's order, crossing the spurs of the Tobacco Row Mountain to David Watkins and "to his own line." A further 3,000 acre grant was above that of Howard Cash on Thrasher's Creek, on Franklin's Creek and "on Higginbothams' upper entry on Buffalo River, towards Baukstone's Mt." The Taliaferros came from a family of Fredericksburg merchants who were also represented as justices of the peace. In the seventeenth century, they had participated in the Indian trade. It is likely that Robert Rose knew

some of the Talkiaferros as early as the 1720s. In Amherst, the Taliaferros became members of the local gentry and served in the county administration. Richard Taliaferro was a captain in the militia.

129) Ibid.

130) Ibid., p. 27. Most sources cite the Woods as the earliest settlers of the Rockfish Valley. They were Scotch-Irish, but probably came from northern Albemarle rather than through Rockfish Gap. Other early Woods settlers included James (1747, on the south branch of the Rockfish), Archibald Jr., Michael Sr., and Jr., Richard, Samuel, Joshua, and Josiah. Together they held an additional 800 acres.

131) Ibid., p. 28.

132) Ibid., p. 29.

133) Alfred Percy, Piedmont Apocalypse, p. 12.

134) Goochland Deeds, 1742, p. 95.

135) Ibid., 1740, p. 318. Morrison paid £72 in Virginia money for 2,460 acres.

136) Ibid., p. 523.

137) Ibid. 1738 and 1740 transfers, pp. 321, 491.

138) Ibid., Feb. 1742, from a grant of 1741, p. 144.

139) Ibid., 1743, p. 240.

140) Ibid., p. 219.

141) Ibid., 1742, p. 23.

142) Ibid., 1741, p. 522.

143) Bean, pp. 49,70, 76, 79, 88, 90, 94, 98, 109, 113, 116, 121, and 126.

144) See Goochland County Order Books, county levies, for year by year population figures listed by tithes. The fluctuating tide of emigration can be easily dramatized by these figures: 1729--1,165 tithes, taxation of 29 pounds of tobacco per poll for a total expenditure of 33, 785, p. 156;

1735 --1,824 tithes, 17 pounds / poll, 31,008 pounds total, p. 17;

1737--six pounds per poll, 2,072 tithes, total of 19,471 pounds, p. 131; 1738 --2,469 tithes, eight pounds/poll, 21,817 pounds total;

1739--2,613 tithes, eight pounds per poll, 21,236 pounds total, p. 446; 1740--2,847 tithes, 17 pounds/poll, 44,884 pounds total, p. 514;

1741--3,130 tithes, seven pounds/poll, 24,102 pounds total, p. 15;

1742--3,204 tithes, 56,840 pounds total, p. 154;

1743--3,397 tithes, nine pounds/poll, 32,728 pounds total.

145) Goochland Order books, passim. Dr. William Cabell held a number of positions besides justice --which he gave up in 1735 on his trip to England. These included coroner (December 1729, p. 186), official tobacco shipper(1729, p. 34), inquests on slaves, service on a grand jury (1728), and bonded security for sums of public money collected. Cabell's prominence in Goochland actually declined after 1735. He did not resume a position of official power until 1745 in Albemarle County.

146) Henry Wood's family had a further connection with Old Amherst when his granddaughter Lucy married Edward Carter who owned land in both Albemarle and Amherst.

147) Goochland Order book, Nov. 1743, p. 308.

148) John Carter's tenants and overseers included Howard Cash, William Bishop, John Herd, Thomas Hanes, and Thomas Bibb. See Sweeney, The Higginbotham Family, p. 288.

150) Named for the mile post notches made in the trees alongside the road.

Also called Three Chopt Road or the Mountain Road. See work of N. M. Pawlett of the Division of Highway Research on this road. See also Edward G. Roberts, The Roads of Virginia, for a general overview.

151) The River road received further authorization in 1731. See Goochland Order book, III, p. 21.

152) Ibid., December 21, 1731. The soil of the Piedmont made road construction very laborious and required constant repair work.

153) Ibid., Sept. 17, 1738, p. 358. Robert Davis was the person who was given authority for the maintainance of the road, so perhaps he was a tenant of Secretary Carter at that time. For other references to Carter's roads, see Ibid., Jan. 21, 1739, p. 314; July 15, 1740, p. 494; Sept. 15, 1741, p. 6 (this led to the Albemarle Blenheim plantation); Sept. 21, 1742, p. 111; Dec. 20, 1743, p. 329; Sept. 1744, p. 491 (Captain James Nevil helped clear the Tye River portion). The University of Virginia School of Architecture has planned a definitive tracing of the Secretary's Road for 1977.

154) Goochland Order book, March 16, 1741, p. 26.

155) Ibid., May 22, 1740, p. 480.

156) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1741, p. 3. Petitioners included Alexander Reid, William Verdiman, James Bell, Thomas Hughes, and George Powell.

157) Ibid., Nov. 16, 1742, p. 162. This road proceeded from the Norwood area east into modern Albemarle, then into Buckingham.

158) Other Goochland ferries included Benjamin Cocke's , the Court House Ferry, Davis Ferry, Elk Island Ferry, Ashford Hughes's, Manakin Ferry, the ferry from Richard Mosby to Tarleton Fleming, Woodson's and Point of Fork Ferry.

159) Goochland Order book, 1735, p. 265; 1744, p. 345.

160) Ibid., 1738, p. 366.

162) Ibid., pp. 369-370. also in 1738 a slave of James Holman was accused of rape. Although he pled not guilty, the justices convicted him and he was hanged. Ibid., p. 327.

163) Ibid., 1737, p. 466, 1740, pp. 573, 458.

164) Ibid., 1741, p. 18; 1742, p. 83. When land owners lost slaves, they tried with some success to collect the estimated worth of their executed property. Such proceedings were also of profit to the coroner William Cabell. In 1743, Cabell collected 195 pounds of tobacco from his inquest on a slave of Samuel Spencer's. Ibid., p. 307.

165) Ibid., 1729, p. 163.

166) See Ibid., 1735, p. 11; 1730, pp. 45, 63, ; 1731, p. 133, concerning John Utloy and John Williams.

167) Ibid., March 1738, p. 223. John carter, for example, received a judgment of 400 pounds of tobacco from John Graves.

168) Ibid., 1737, p. 228; 1744, p. 303.

169) Frances Walker, p. 16.

170) Goochland Order book, 1728, p. 34. This amounted to more than one-fourth of the total Goochland budget at this time.

171) Ibid., 1740, p. 513. This was less than five percent of the total county budget.

172) Ibid., 1739, p. 444; 1743, p. 306; 1744, p. 529. Secretary Carter was in the curious position of paying himself taxes because of his land holdings in the county.

173) See footnote 144.

174) These figures are derived from estimating an average of 4.5 tithables for each of 150 households.

175) Journal of the House of burgesses, p. 383.

176) Ibid., July 2, 1730, p. 101. Digges also had severe financial problems and eventually had to sell much of his land to avoid bankruptcy. Digges was a lawyer, but his fees do not seem to have kept pace with his lifestyle.

177) Ibid., 1730-1734, pp. 118, 152, 161, 163, 179, 183, 187, 207, 208, 217. Fleming served on committees with John Bolling and others who owned land in Old Amherst. The House of Burgesses was very strict in granting absences from its deliberations and generally only the sick were exemp[ted].

178) Ibid., 1738-1740, pp. 341, 352, 365, 383, 394, 438, 440. Concerning salt imports, Isham Randolph complained that the northern colonies were treated much more favorably in the matter of salt than the southern provinces.

179) Ibid., 1741-1745, p. 6.

180) Ibid., pp. 5,6,78,128,145.

181) See, for example, the Virginia Gazette advertizement, Dec. 7, 1739. The contests included the following descriptions: "A saddle of 40 shillings value, to be run for, once round the mile course, adjacent to the City, by any Horse, mare, or Gelding carrying Horseman's Weight for Inches. A handsome Bridle to be given to the Horse that come in Second. And a good whip for the Horse that comes in Third. A pair of silver Buckles, value 20s, to be run for by men, from the college to the capital...A pair of Pumps to be danc'd for by the Men....A Pig, with his Tail soap'd, to be run after; and to be given to the Person that catches him; and lifts him off the Ground fairly by the Tail...

182) Journal of the House of Burgesses, Oct. 1744, p. 145.

183) The War of Jenkin's Ear was so named because a British ship captain claimed the crew from a Spanish galley had boarded his rig and cut off his ear when he complained of the action. This ear was alledgedly shown later in Parliament and served as the catalyst for war. The real motives behind

the war were the conflicting commercial interests of the two nations in the West Indies.

184) See Patricia Johnson, James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists. The Beverley Grant contained 118,491 acres and the Borden Grant had 92,100 acres. Patton was a ship captain who brought over many indentured

servants from his home in Northern Ireland. He also procured slaves from Barbados. Patton was a good friend of the lawyer John Harvie who owned land in Old Amherst. From 1738 to his execution by the Indians in 1755, Patton was county lieutenant of Augusta.

185) Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1740, p. 458.

186) Ibid., 1742, p. 26, 44, 89, 97-148 passim. The creation of Albemarle was authorized following an unsuccessful attempt to move the Goochland court house south of the James to a more central location.

Notes Chapter V

1 Alexander Brown, "A List of those who Took up Settlement in Old Amherst before 1761," Brown Papers, from library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.: see also David J. Mays, Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, (Cambridge, Mass, 1952) volume I, for further information on colonial activities and John Robinson's financial affairs. The Penns were also proteges of the Pendletons.

6 See Blanche R. Baldredge, comp., My Virginia Kin, (n.p., 1958) pp. 162-3; Albemarle Deed Book II, Virginia State Library, Richmond, p. 55.

7 John Syme, Jr., who also had Amherst connections, sold William Nelson's property. William Nelson bought land in North Garden and along the Hardware River from 1753-7.

8 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," Va. land patents, 1751, p. 315?

9 See Dumas Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, Appendix, II, p. 440; Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

10 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers" see also Emily Bruguire papers in her possession in Nelson County.

11 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," see also various articles by Powhatan Ellis. Charles Ellis married Susannah Hardy. Their son, Josiah, who inherited Red Hill, was also the father of Powhatan, the Mississippi politician and writer. Additiona Ellis information can be found in the Library of Congress.

12 See Memorials of the Crawford Family, p. 72.

13 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," Rucker Genealogy: John Rucker was a bruggess in 1742. Bernard Gains was an acquaintance of the Ruckers from Richmond County. His family moved to Amherst.

14 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

15 Cliff Ryan, "Genealogy of the Ryan Family," mss copies from miscellaneous court records.

16 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

17 See also Albemarle Deed Book, March 25, 1748, John Warren to James Warren of Lunenburg County plus four others. This recorded 100,000(?) to be invested in Buffalo Ridge minerals for a 1000-year lease.

18 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers." For additional leads on early settlers of Old Amherst not covered in the sources listed in Table One, see Swems' Virginia Historical Index by name of family and by listing under Amherst County; various family genealogies, printed and manuscript at the Virginia State Library and Virginia Historical Society; Alexander Brown, "List of the 3000 earlieast settlers of Albemarle, Amherst and Bedford," on deposit with the Nelson County Historical Society; and Edgar Woods, History of Albemarle County, which contains an extensive listing of genealogies.

19 See A. Brown Cabelis and Their Kin: Brown, "List of 3000 Settlers" Joseph Cabell to N.F. Cabell, Sept. 28, 1854; and Albemarle deed records, passim. William Mathews sold Dr. Cabell land in 1748 (Albemarle Deeds, I, p. 3).

20 Albemarle Deed books, Cabell Payn, passim: 14 YMHB, 1906, p. 326. Watts received 1,400 acres on Piney River for a 21-year lease of quitrents.

21 14 VMHB, 1906, and various articles in this time period in the VMHB concerning the Brooke family.

22 See Frederick Horner, History of the Blair, Banister, and Braxton Families; Albemarle Deed books; The Higginbothams became large land owners in their own right with some 20,000 acres of land acquired in Albemarle and Amherst from 1749-1800. In 1751 Moses

Higginbotham (1724?-1790) conveyed 2024 acres to his brother and brother-in-law William Morrison. Moses retained property around the site of Sweet Briar College. Thomas Higginbotham lived on 540 acres along the Piney River in 1750. Nine years later, though, he had left for Georgia. (See William M. Sweeny, The Higginbotham Family, pp. 23-30).

23 Albemarle Deed books; Va. Gazette 18A p 1851, 2 September 1757, 24 October 1755, 17 October 1751. Charles Lynch also made a great deal of money as a speculator, acquiring some 195 (see Ayres, p. 21).

24 The litigation concerned patented land, not certified, on the Buffalo River in 1754 and 1755. Chiswell's four daughters, connected into the upper crust of Virginia society with marriage into the Carter, Robinson, Lewis, and Nelson families, claimed their father had died before getting formal sanction of the property. Somehow they had not discovered this for forty years. Gov. William H. Cabell issued a patent to the Chiswell descendants in 1806, but the previous occupants refused to vacate. The case went to trial in 1809 in Staunton chancery court. See copies of "1809 Chancery Court Suit" and "1806 Landgrant to Chiswell Heirs," copies on file in the Nelson County Historical Society.

25 Brown, "List of 3000 settlers," Edgar Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 164.

26 Brown, "List of 3000 settlers", Virginia Land Office patents, 1744, 1747.

27 Virginia Land Office patents, passim.

28 Litigation of W. King v. Braxtons, UVA, Alderman Library Mss.

29 Loyalist Claims Commission of Great Britain, public record office, A.O. 13/32; Brown, Cabells and their Kin.

30 Albemarle Deed books; Brown, "List of 3000 Settlers."

31 Albemarle Order Book 1745-1748; Nathaniel Pawlett, Albemarle County Road Orders, passim.

32 ibid. Moses Higginbotham in September 1745 was ordered to oversee the road from Higginbotham's Mill across the Buffalo to Harvie's Road. All the male tithables between the Buffalo and the Secretary's Mountain were ordered to join John Graves in clearing operations up to the mouth of the Tye (O.B., p. 65). In March 1747 Samuel Spencer was ordered to survey routes from the Fluvanna to Freeland's Tract in Cabell's area. Philip Davis was appointed overseer for the Rockfish Road into Harvie's Road. The settlements on Cabell's land, the Buffalo, on the Tye, and the tithes of Colonial Lomax, Harmer, and King were ordered to assist (O.B., p. 34).

In 1745 William Cabell was appointed surveyor of the highway from the ford of the Tye to the court house. The tithes of Reverend Stith, John Harris, Charles Lavender, John Isham, and Samuel Burks were selected to help with the construction. Also in 1745 Thomas Jones was appointed surveyor from the Rockfish ford to the Sawnn Creek Road. John Glover was likewise overseers of the road from the mouth of the Tye to Harris Creek. John Stone served as overseer of the 1746 Nicolas Davis Road and used the tithes of Nicolas Davis, William Stith, John Bolling, and George Stovall. James Christian and William Cabell had general supervision over the other roads in the Amherst area in 1746. In 1747, John Harvie was appointed overseer of the road to clear the Rockfish Road to Harvie's Road. Other Amherst land owners, such as John Dickie and John Key, served as overseers for roads in eastern Albemarle.

33 See Albemarle Order Book 1745-1748 and Journals of the House of Burgesses, passim.

34 See Order books, passim; Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 10. The 1745 ordinary rates were fixed as follows: West India rum, 10 shillings for one gallon; New England rum, 18 pence for one gallon; whiskey, 18 pence for one gallon; Madeira wine, 2 shillings, 6 pence for one quart; Virginia cask bear, 7 1/2 pence for one quart; Virginia bottled beer, one shilling for one quart; English strong beer, French brandy, and peach brandy, one shilling for one quart; a servant's diet for six pence a regular diet, for twelve pence; and a night's lodging for 11 1/2 pence.

35 See Francies Walker, The Early Episcopal Church in the Amherst-Nelson Area; also Catherine Seaman, ed., Amherst County Environmental Studies, 60, which supplies the information that the White Oaks Church land was bought by Reverend John Duncan from Daniel Tucker.

36 Patents, 1627-1779, Land Office Inventory, Virginia State Library. As a note of caution, it should be mentioned that these records are not necessarily complete. These records form the basis for the next several paragraphs.

37 See Alfred Percy's Old Place Names: West Central Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Mountain (Madison Heights, Va. 1950).

38 Miscellaneous deed records, land patents, and surveys: also Brown "List..." J. Fry, Report on the Back Settlement of Virginia, 1751, LOC transcript from the PRO, C.O. 5: 327/pp. 370.

39 Rose's account book dates from 1729. A microfilm copy of the diary of Robert Rose is on deposit at Alderman Library. The original, more than 100 pages, is on file in Colonial Williamsburg. There is an annotated edition by Hugh Blair Grigsby in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. It is reported that an edited version of Rose's diary will soon be published. Robert Rose's brother Alexander was an overseer and a joiner; his brother John also lived in the Amherst area. See also transcript, "The Roses of Geddes, Amherst County, Virginia." and source for that period, and fortunately Rose's Diary carried the narrative from that date to 1751. St. Anne's parish in Albemarle was created by the legislative act.

40 Rose diary, passim, "A Prospectus for the Amherst County Copper Mine," p. 7. James Warren was no doubt limited in his business dealings by his illiteracy.

41 Rose diary.

42 Ibid. The creek bank gospel occurred on September 12, 1749

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.: A Brown Papers, William & Mary, Box ii.

46 Rose diary. For further references to religion in Albemarle, see the Virginia Gazette, June 20, 1751, March 5, 1752.

47 Rose Diary

48 The Reverend Stith was ready to accept the call to St. Anne's in 1751, but he was appointed president of William and Mary instead (see Morton, Colonial Virginia, II 625).

49 Rose Diary.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid. September 29, 1748; December 19, 1750; November 30, 1749; April 11, 1750.

53 Ibid. October 19, 1748; February 11, April 8, June 6, September 21, September 28, November 27, 1749; December 13, 1750.

54 Ibid. June 15, 1750, February 5-21, 1751; April 21, 1749; February 3, 1751; March 23, 1750.

55 Ibid. January 23, 1749 VMHB, 317; Ayres, p. 24, 60. See also 1749 William Phelps inventory. Andrew Reid, Sr.'s will was probated in 1751. He left five children including Alexander, Andrew, Esther, Martha and Abbina bingham, still in Ireland. Six of Nevil's slaves were named Eliza, Terry, Pompey, Coe, Bear? and Philip.

56 Walker is also given the credit for introducing the Albemarle pippin apple. Walter studied in Williamsburg under Dr. George Gilmer, whose family later moved to Albemarle and transacted commercial and land business with John Harmer (see Natalie J. Disbrow, "thomas Walker of Albemarle," Mag of Alb. County History, I, 5-18; Rose Diary, July 16, 1750; Ayres, p. 42).

57 Albert Porter, passim; Brown Papers, William & Mary, Box VII: JHOB 1751, p. 511; Cabell papers, UVA.

58 Rose Diary, January 28, 1749; May 13, September 27, 1748; April 25, May 1, 1749; August 30, September 28, 1750.

59 Ibid. June 26, 1748; January 30-February 4, 1749; August 14, September 27, 1750; February 1, 1749; January 22, 1751.

60 James Maury, Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, February 10, 1756, pp. 338-339.

61 Rose Diary, April 9, May 5, 1749; March 29, 1750. See also Gooch Papers, July 4, 1746; PRO, C.O. 5/1326; Va. Historical Society Papers, #600.

62 Rose Diary, September 30, 1748, passim.

63 Ibid: June 9, 12, 13, 21, 25, 1749; April 24, April 27, 1750; January, April 1751. Rose also visited Colonel Charles Carter in Stafford in February 1750. Another prominent neighbor of Rose from Urbanna was John Mitchell, botanist, and author of the 1755 Map of British and French Dominions in North America. One of Rose's itineraries in the summer of 1749 took him from Colonel Joshua Fry's, to John Bouren's (?) to Dr. Arthur Hopkins's in Goochland, to Tuckahoe plantation, to Westham to Richmond, Graham's house at New Castle.

64 Morton, Colonial Virginia, II 572, 590-54. New Englanders under a Boston merchant did attack Canada and seize Louisburg, but the peace treaty forced them to return it. Settlement terms were much more favorable in the far west than in Amherst. Pioneers had only to provide one family for every 1,000 acres. Quitrents and seatings could be deferred for several years (Ibid. II, 540).

65 JHOB, 1745-1747, pp. 184, 212, 241, 243.

66 JHOB, 1748-1749, pp. 259, 258, 303, 317, 339, 271, 276, 380, 341; 6H 478-483. English merchants heartily complained against the bill which was later repealed. (JHOB, pp. 269, 302)

67 Ibid., pp. 340, 390, 386, 392, 405, 324; Legislative J. of Council, pp. 1020, 104b.

68 Legis J. of Council, p. 998; Francis Walker, p. 26.

69 Albemarle Will Book, 1751, p. 24. All of Rose's homes are still standing except Rose Isle, which burned. Residents of Geddes from the Rose family have now gone past the seventh generation from the reverend. For further information on life and society in the American colonies at mid-century, see Richard Hofstadter, America at 1750.

NOTES The Struggle for Home Rule Chapter 6

- 1) Rhys Isacc, "Dramatizing the Ideology of Revolution," WMQ, XXIII,384.
- 2) J. C. Long, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, pp. 1-25.
- 3) Ibid., p. 84. Pitt himself proposed subordinate American and Canadian kingdoms as a means of meeting colonial aspirations. Benjamin Franklin requested an Anglo-American political confederation in 1754.
- 4) Ibid., p. 122; JHOB, 1758-1761, p. 178.
- 5) Long, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, p. 122.
- 6) Ibid., p. 137.
- 7) Long, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, pp. 196, 201; Amherst family Paper, Private Packet #68.
- 8) Long, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, p. 347. See Virginia Gazette, various issues of 1775 and 1776 for expressed colonial fears that Amherst would arrive in America.
- 9) VII H 419-423. William Cabell ran the boundary lines on June 10 and received £3.11.8. and 384 pounds of tobacco for his expenses. As was customary, one-sixth of the surveyor's fee were returned to the College of William and Mary. Tobacco was worth from £16.8 to £16.17 per hogshead in 1761.
- 10) Cabells and their Kin, pp. 65-66; A. Brown Papers, William & Mary, passim.
- 11) Brown Papers; Executive Journals of Council, 1761, p. 195. The rock foundations of the courthouse have been sighted near the Thomas Wood house.

12) William Gaines, "Court Houses of Amherst and Nelson County", Va. Cavalcade, XVIII (Autumn 1968), pp. 5-7.13) Francis Walker, The Early Episcopal Church, p. 50. An estate called "The Glebe," consisting of 1,000 acres, existed in the same area.

14) JHOB, 1761-1765, p. 297; VIII, H. 395.

15) Ibid., passim. For many years the Ruckers were denied credit for their invention. Eventually, Thomas Jefferson vouched for their discovery and a patent was awarded to the descendants in 1820s.

16) Amherst County Order Book, passim; Road Orders, passim 1761-1775. John Cabell's ferry road ran from Joe's Creek, by Key's Path to middle ford of the Tye River. It was to be worked by Col. (?) John Smith, Thomas Lain, Peter Henderson, Gerard , Robert Robinson, Achilles Wright, Menos Wright, Thomas Wilshire, Thomas Wright, John Lain, Jacob Webb, and John Edmunds. Peter Henderson was surveyor. John Woodroof and John Harwick managed the road from Lynch's Fery to the ford at Chain Island. Jonathan Johnson in 1766 was surveyor from the head of Bolling's Creek to Lynch's Ferry. Joseph Mayo's Lower Quarter was located on this road. The county line was somewhere near Roger Casey's estate, by the road from Beaver Branch to the county line (established 1767). Henry Rose's road was on Piney River and Absalom Smith's plantation was by Maidenhead Mountain. Rucker's Run was recorded as having a bridge. Henry Rose's land was connected by a road to Absalom Smith, via John Davis, Henry Key, James Patteson, James Brush, Daniel McBain, George Gilaspie, and Philip Davis. Cornelius Thomas's road to Nicholas Davies ran by David Brush's property and crossed Tobacco Row Mountain. The tithes of Richard Shelton and Anthony Street were ordered to assist. In late 1767 a road from James Dillard's to Buffalo Island Ford was discontinued. In 1768 John Farrar was recorded as living by the main county road, the old courthouse road. also in 1768, a road was authorized from John Montgomery's gap via John Lackey, James Douglas, Richard Lawrence

and William Morrison, down a creek to the main road. William Walton in 1768 was surveyor from the ferry landing on the Tye River to the fork of the road just below Pounding Mill Creek, and on to St. John's Church by George Keppers and Henry Key. The road from Walton's to William Cabell's was discontinued. Colonel William Cabell was surveyor from the forks of the road below Pounding Mill Creek to the first branch below Dr. Cabell's Swift Island plantation. George Berkeley, William Brabbin, and William Hansbrough were part of his road gang. Dr. William Cabell was surveyor from the Naked Creek bridge road to Rutledge Creek bridge. Nathaniel Davis was appointed surveyor of the road from C. Thomas's to N.Davies. Peter Head's residence was between the courthouse and the forks of the road above the Hat Creek thoroughfare. In April 1774, Thomas Wright and Abraham North were surveyors in the area of Lynch's Ferry. In November a road was authorized from the Harris Creek bridge to Joshua Shelton's plantation. John Higginbotham was also appointed a surveyor in 1774, for the old road from Lovings's Gap to Fendley's Gap.

17) Amherst County Order Book, passim.

18) Ibid.; Va. Land Office patents, passim. Woodroof's grant extended to Punch Creek of the Buffalo.

19) Va. Land Office patents, passim; Exec. J. of Council, (June 1770), p. 349.

20) A. Brown Papers; Amherst Deed Books, passim

21) Amherst Deed Books, passim. Revolutionary War pension records, passim. Consult Bailey Davis of Amherst and Jack Manahan of Charlottesville for origins of other families.

22) Amherst Deed Book, passim. Ambrose Powell was the grandfather of Confederate general A. P. Hill (See VMHB , 1929, pp. 78-79). The David Witt family lived in Beach Grove, William Witt owned property on Davis Creek, and Abner Witt lived on the south fork of the Rockfish.

23) Ibid. Samuel Shelton was the father of the Revolutionary War hero, Clough Shelton (d. 1833).

24) Amherst Deed Book B, p. 380. Captain Joseph Montgomery served in the colonial militia and lived at "Wintergreen."

25) Amherst Deed Books, passim; Va. Gazette, May 1, 1766.; Sept. 17, 1767; Amherst Deed Book C, pp. 2-3.

26) Grigsby, The Virginia Convention of 1776, (Richmond: J. W. Randolph,), p. 115.

27) A. Brown Papers; JHOB, 1761-1765, p 316; Brown, Cabells & Kin, p. 86.

28) JHOB, 1761-1765, pp. 263, 625, 51.

29) Amherst Will Book, 1761-1765, passim.

30) Ibid. John Goff lived on Stovall's and Bolling's Creeks. He owned six slaves, but one as assessed a total loss. David Crawford was interred at the fork of Stony Battle road east of Three Ridge Mt.

31) "List of Earliest Amherst Settlers," in Brown Papers.

32) Ibid. Lee's sister Sarah also married into the Penn family. In a letter from Eleanor Shannon, wife of former University of Virginia president Edgar Shannon, to Reba Lee of Nelson on April 25, 1933, mention is made of further Lee records in Bedford. See also Elizabeth Hairston, The Hairstons, Penns, and their Relations. Alexander Brown mentions other lees in his Papers. See also Amherst Will Book for A. Lee.

33) Ibid; also Amherst Deed Books, passim. One of John Howard's sons became governor of the Missouri territory. The Stovalls were perhaps of French origin. George Stovall, Sr., also lived in Campbell County, where he died in 1786. For James Dillard, see also D. A. R. Records, 72, p. 152 and advertisement in Va. Gazette, Sept. 12, 1766, for pasturage land in James City County. These Dillards came originally from Wiltshire, England. Another James Dillard (1744-1823) arrived in Amherst from Spotsylvania.

34) Virginia Land Office patents; A. Brown Papers; Burford Genealogy;

Sarah Anderson, Lewis, Meriwethers & their Kin, p. 147, ff. Meriwether sold 400 acres on the Rockfish to Samuel Davis in 1773.

35) Robert Crawford, Memorials of the Crawford Family; Amherst County Will Book, 1766. Interestingly enough, the Crawfords bought land from another Amherst family, the Lovings, when both lived in James City County in 1643. Nathan Crawford's second wife was Maragaret, sister of Jack Jouett of Revolutionary War fame. Eventually, at least ten consecutive generations of Crawfords lived in Amherst or its vicinity.

36) Ibid.

37) Cabells & Kin, passim; A. Brown Papers; Cabell Papers, UVA, Box I; William Cabell's Diary, UVA, passim; Davies to Cabell, Nov. 2, 1762 in Cabell Papers.

38) Amherst County Order Book, passim; Virginia Land Office patents.

39) Ibid. Zacharias Taliaferro's relatives included justices in Spotsylvania and Caroline. Zacharias was so martially inclined that he almost disinherited his son Benjamin when the latter refused to participate in a fist fight. Benjamin later went on to fight in the Revolution and was captured at both Princeton and Charleston. See also "Address Delivered in College Chapel of Athens (Georgia)....", August 7, 1851, reprinted in the Va. Historical Register, vol. 5, 1852, #1, p. 46, delivered by George R. Gilmer.

40) VMHB, XXXVI, 74; WMQ first series, XIX, 61; Albemarle County Order and Deed Books, passim.

41) James Nevil, Sr.'s will described the area of his eldest son's property as follows: a little this side of the rolling road...to the south ford, then down to the upper side of the fork to a muddy swamp, thence on a straight course to the Secretary's Road at Candler's Branch, and up back the Mountain."

42) See John Harvie Account Book, UVA (transcripts;) Richmond Times-Dispatch VI, Nov. 12, 1912. Nevil at various times legally supervised

Cornelius Thomas's children and the orphan Harden Woodroof, son of David. See also Amherst County Order Books, passim.

43) There were several connections between Thomases and Lewises. See Edgar Woods, Albemarle County. Warner, Norborn K., and John Lewis Thomas were all commission merchants in Richmond. Margaret Thomas married Julius Clarkson, who also had dealings in Amherst. Isham Lewis (d. 1790), a son of Charles Lewis of Goochland and grandson of Isham Randolph, left his estate to his nephews John L. Moore and Charles L. Thomas. Their descendants emigrated to Kentucky. See "Lists of Early Settlers," Brown papers for John Thomas, see Reinecke, Register of Moravians; and for Michael Thomas, see Exec. J. of Council, 1752, p. 694.

44) Lucy Thomas Nevil received from her husband's estate £100, 3 pigs, and 4 slaves. She had to surrender his plantation when she remarried. Abraham Childress, along with George Carrington, had been an executor of Nevil's estate. See John L. Thomas, Descendants of James Wilson Thomas; Thomas, Maternal Ancestry of Frank Trumbull; Williamsburg court suit, Thomas v. Nevil; John Harvie Account Book; James Nevil sr.'s Will. John Lilburn Thomas was a supreme court justice of Missouri 1900 and his nephew was Frank Trumbull.

45) French and Indian War records, VSL.

46) Virginia Land Office patents; Amherst County Deed Book; Thomas Estate Inventory, Amherst Will Book.

47) Thomas's will, 1775. For a burgess, there is amazingly little available on his career and expressed opinions. Alexander Brown cited thirteen signed letters and documents from Thomas in his possession, but they have since been lost.

48) Exec. J. of Council, 1763, op. 267; Sweeny, The Higginbotham Family, p. 196; JHOB, 1763, p. 266. County field officers were commissioned by the governor on the recommendation of the county court. The clerk was paid twenty shillings for each commission.

49) JHOB, 1763, XXX.

50) Ibid., 1765, passim.

51) Ibid., 1764, passim; Cabell Papers: A. Brown Papers.

52) Charles Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders; Political Practices in Washington's Virginia, passim; Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire, p. 15.

53) Cabells & their Kin, passim. William Horsley also owned land on Owen's Creek. His brother Robert (1749-1786) married Judith Scott, possibly a kinswoman of Cornelius Thomas's second wife, at Winton plantation where he was living in 1771. Robert's godfather had been Robert Rose. Robert inherited from his father William 200 acres on the Great Bend of the Fluvanna and 400 acres on Fishing Creek. He served as a lieutenant in the Revolution in 1778 and later resided at "Centre Hill" plantation. William's brother John (1752-1808) inherited 200 acres at Bolton Station and 375 acres in Buckingham. He fought in the Revolution with Nicholas Cabell's militia. In 1792 the town of Diuguidsville (later Bent Creek) was established on his land. Roderick Mcculloch was buried at the cemetery of "Verdant Vale."

54) Rose Genealogy; Amherst County Order and Deed Books, passim; Sudie Wood, The Rucker Family Genealogy, pp. 10, 97. Hugh Rose also owned land in Henry County. Hugh's brother Patrick lived at the "Firmont" estate in present Nelson. Patrick married Rebecca Seddon, daughter of a minister. Patrick acquired "RoseMount" after the death of his brother. Ambrose Rucker's land in 1767 adjoined Lunsford Lomax. His Harris Creek land was known as the "Mountain Plantation." In his will he bequeathed two plantations. Ambrose's five brothers included Peter (d. 1784) and John (1720-1780). Both of these owned land at Harris Creek and in Bedford. The courthouse road passed through the Rucker property. For Daniel Gaines, see L. P. Gaines, The Gaines Genealogy and Amherst County Deed and Order Books. Stephen Ham leased 298 acres from Gaines in 1774.

55) Amherst County Deed and order Books; Edythe Whitney, A History of the Rucker Family; "The Rodes family: in VMHB, VII. Wyatt's wife was

named Sukie(?). His sister Ann married John Edmundson in 1771. Charles Rodes had purchased land near the Rockfish from William Fox. His sister married into the Garland family. John Rodes (1766-1841) had a daughter Sarah who married Samuel Woods of Nelson. Their family emigrated later to Missouri. Thomas left at an undetermined time for Tennessee.

56) Amherst County Deed Books, passim. Ambrose Jones, eldest son of Thomas Jones (d. 1759), sold land to Seaton on the Tye River near the main road. Jones also sold land to John Cartwright. The Jones family helped organize the Jonesboro community in Nelson. Seaton was survived by his son George, Jr. Edmund Wilcox's genealogy has been impossible to trace accurately. Captain Wilcox (s. 1628) was a 1623 burgess at Jamestown. Besides the property John Lewis had sold Wilcox, the Lewises had amassed a sizeable holding in the county. In the 1760s, the House of Burgesses allowed Lewis to redesignate 1,850 acres of entailed to fee simple. See VIII H 479. John Lewis sold most of the Tye River land he had acquired from the original proprietor, Charles Lewis, by 1775.

57) A. Brown Papers; Amherst County Order Book, passim. Bounties for wolf heads were still being given as late as 1768.

58) Amherst County Order Book; JHOB, 1769, p. 237; Va. Gazette, Dec. 4, 1767. In addition to the militia officers, John Burks, Richard McCary, and John Philips were among those working as constables. George Stovall had protested against the jail's hazardous conditions but to no avail. The prison caught fire at ten o'clock at night. Greory was trapped because first a key failed and then a slave was unable to axe his way through the door in time. Gregory was only able to remove his clothes, which he dropped through the bars for his family's subsequent use.

59) Amherst Wills, passim. In addition, William Loving died by 1769, leaving as heirs Henry, John, Patty, and Cathy. There is no record of his estate in the Amherst will books.

60) Ibid.

61) Clifford Dowdey, The Golden Age, p. 293; Amherst County Deed Books; Va. Gazette, *passim*.

62) Rind's Va. Gazette April 28, 1768; Frank E. Dewey, "Thomas Jefferson's Law Practice," in VMHB, (July 1977); Jefferson's Case Book, UVA; Jefferson's Account Books, LOC, Massachusetts Historical Society; James Bear, "Jefferson's Itinerary," UVA. Colonel William Cabell was appointed one of the agents for the Jefferson lottery. There were 33 prizes out of 260 tickets. The drawing was held at Rocky Ridge inspection station. Jefferson's kinsman and fellow Amherst land owner, Thomas Mann Randolph, entered the House of Burgesses from Goochland in 1769.

63) JHOB, 1766-1769, pp. 211, 311.

64) Ibid. pp. 117, 123, 127; Detweiler, *op. cit.*, p. 278; VIII H 389. Amherst was potentially more powerful than its western neighbor Bedford which had only 10 committee assignments. The law on squirrels and crows authorized the collection of 5 crow head or squirrel scalps for each five tithes. The justices were ordered to destroy them so they could not be presented for tobacco bounties a second time. This was repealed in 1772.

65) William Cabell Diary, March 22, 1769, Sept. 12 1769, UVA; CVSP, I, 262; JHOB, 1766-1769, pp. 218; 214, XL.

66) William Cabell, Diary, Sept. 12, 1769, UVA.

67) Va. Gazette, Dec. 13, 1770.

68) Reba F. Lee, Colemans Fitzpatricks and their Kin, *passim*; Ackerley and Parker, Our Virginia Kin; Amherst Order, Deed, Will books. Charles Taliaferro bought some land from Samuel Marksbury and Lunsford Lomax. In 1772 he sold 825 acres on Horsley's Creek. His children included John, Zacharias, Benjamin, Sarah, Rose, and Charles. William Digge (?) left nine (?) children and at least four slaves and was probably the justice's father. John Digges left 64 slaves at his death. His son William H. Digges bought 723 acres from Haws Coleman on Bob's Creek adjoining

Robert Rives, Lundford Loving and Mathew Harris. Amherst County Deed Book, V, p. 128. John's grandson through Kitty was Benjamin Harris. William Harris sold to John Digges in 1771 that he had originally bought from Jacob Wright. John Digges's son-in-law William Moon (d. 1770) lived in Scottsville and temporarily owned both Monticello and the Scottsville Barclay house, now restored.

69) Amherst County Order, Deed and Will books; Crawford Crawford family; R. H. Early, Campbell County Chronicles, pp. 393-397. Alexander Reid also owned more than 3,620 acres in Kentucky, acquired as a Revolutionary War land bounty. His relative Thomas Reid married Florence Miller in 1771. David Crawford had bought the family tract on Tobacco Row Mountain from Richard Taliaferro.

70) Brown, Cabells & their Kin, pp. ?; Julian Boyd, ed., Papers of Thomas Jefferson, I, 87; Amherst County Order and Deed books, passim. Carter Braxton sold Joseph Cabell a grist mill on the Buffalo River in 1775. Joseph Cabell served in the state senate from Buckingham from 1781-1785, and in the House of Delegates from that county in 1788-1790. Joseph Cabell also owned the Albemarle glebe land which he bought from Charles Yancey. His daughter, Mary Breckenridge, owned this land until 1783, and eventually the proceeds from the glebe were used for a building fund at the University of Virginia. Mary emigrated with Joseph Cabell, Jr. to Kentucky. Previously, Joseph, Jr. had lived at "Repton" in Buckingham which he sold to Governor William H. Cabell. Elizabeth Cabell Megginson lived in Buckingham also.

71) Amherst County Order Book 1773-1774, passim; Va. Gazette, Aug. 4, 1774; Jefferson's Case Book, Oct. 11, 1773. The 1773 population figures for Albemarle were 3,378; 1,817 in Buckingham; 2,792 in Augusta; and only 2,329 in the parent county of Henrico. The three largest counties in ascending order were Caroline, Amelia, (5,348) and the western frontier county of Frederick (5,348).

72) Amherst County Deed Book; Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 333; William Cabell Diary, UVA; JHOB, 1771, passim. Terisha Turner had emigrated to the Hardware River of Albemarle where he settled ca. 1760. He was connected by marriage to the Dawson and Hamner families. Most

of John Scott's lands were near the Buffalo River. He married Margaret Fry and left 12 slaves when he died in 1787. He was a relative of Edward Scott, an original Goochland justice.

73) Amherst County Will Book, 1770-1775.

74) Ibid.

75) Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, passim; Jefferson Case Book; Jefferson Fee Book; Peter Jefferson Account Book 1732-1759; Albemarle Surveyor's Book, #1, p. 6. Thomas Jefferson represented Dr. Cabell against James Dickie from 1772-1774. One of the earliest properties in Amherst Jefferson had sold was 300 acres on the Tye River to James Coffy in 1764 for £100.

76) Amherst County Deed and Order Books, 1766, p. 18, passim.

77) Amherst county Deed and Order Books, passim; T. E. Campbell, Colonial Caroline, Campbell's work gives much information of the Lovings in Caroline. A Thomas Loving was a millwright in 1734 there. A William Loving was recorded in the county before 1755. William and Jacob Loving were living in Caroline at the outbreak of the Revolution. James Loving was a constable, Christopher Loving fought in the Revolution, John Loving had some connection with Elizabeth Goulders before 1767, and there is also a reference to a Adam Loving.

78) Campbell, Colonial Caroline, 49; Cabell Diary, May 1, 1772. Following is some biographical information on Amherst families when they were living in Caroline: John Scott, Sr., (d. 1764) was a captain in the militia in 1733. Richard Allcock, Sr., served as lieutenant in 1764. Thomas was one of Richard, Jr.'s brothers. A Benjamin Arnold owned land in the area as early as 1687. Francis Coleman was an overseer for Cole Digges and later became a lawyer. From Robert Rose's area were Larkin Chew who settled a Caroline tract in 1712; John Carter, who bought up 4,740 acres of land; and George Braxton and William Waller who acquired more than 1,000 acres between 1720 and 1725 near Mary's Run. Jacob Burrus is recorded in the 1725 tax lists. Whitehead Ryan was in Caroline by 1725 and his

Amherst's family future relative, Thomas Fortune, died there in 1758. Thomas Fortune, Sr., was succeeded by his sons Thomas, Richard, and Alexander.

79) Cabell diary, Dec. 3, 1771.

80) JHOB, 1772, pp. 181, 297.

81) JHOB, 1772-1774, pp. 170, 253, 235, 271, 23. Henry Bell replaced Cabell as Buckingham burgess.

95) See LSL list of soldiers in Dunmore's War. Colonel Charles Lewis who owned land in Amherst was killed at Point Pleasant.

82) Thad Tate, "The Coming of the Revolution to Virginia," WMQ, July 1962, p. 336.

83) A. Brown Papers.

84) Ibid.

85) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, *passim*; A. Brown Papers; Va. Gazette March 31, May 12, June 7, 1768. The doctor continued litigation with James Dickie and John Howard.

86) A. Brown Papers; Cabell Papers. Dr. Cabell transferred his stock in the iron works to Nicholas Cabell. The doctor was buried in the Liberty Hall cemetery. Over the site, his grandson, Joseph Carrington Cabell, erected a marker in homage. See also for iron works, Cabell v. Wilkinson, 1796 court suit.

87) Cabell Papers, Box I.

88) Amherst County Deed and Will Books; Charles Dawson, A Collection of Family Records.

89) Amherst County Deed and Will Books; Silas Lucas, The Powell Families of Virginia and the South; Woods's History of Albemarle for Hopkins

family. Richard Powell's family lived near the Sheltons and Cornelius Thomas. Richard Powell's son John was the father of Richard Powell, an emigrant to Kentucky. Richard Powell, Sr.'s son Francis (b 1749) married Mary Whitehead and emigrated to Wilkes County Georgia from Amherst. Another Amherst relative was James Powell. Various Powells served on juries before 1775. Arthur Hopkins moved to Goochland in 1731 and was a justice by 1737. He also served as sheriff and vestryman. He was a good(?) of Dr. Cabell and also owned much land in Albemarle and Fluvanna. Besides James, his children included Samuel, Arthur, and William. Joseph Cabell was guardian of his daughter Isabella.

90) Amherst County Deed, Order, and Will books.

91) Ibid; W. W. Clemens, The Penn Family of Virginia; Elizabeth Hairson, The Hairstons, and Penns and their Relations; Ackerly and Parker, Our Virginia Kin. Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 322, claims Gabriel was the son of Robert Penn, a relative of William Penn the Quaker, and his wife Mary Taylor. The Bible records of Green B. Penn of Danville states Moses was the father. Various Penn genealogies cite George Penn (d. 1755), originally from Westmoreland County and Ann Fleming as the parents. Gabriel's six siblings included Colonel Abram Penn (1743-1801), who emigrated to Henry County; Philip Penn (b. 1739) who owned a slave named Jacob; Frances Lee Tucker (1745-?); George Penn (1737-1796), William Penn (b. 1746), who left for Georgia in the 1770s with a slave named Gabe; and a Moses Penn (1748-1774). George Penn, a good friend of David Garland, was a captain in the Revolution and married Sarah Lea of Amelia first, and then a Miss Walden in 1783. George received most of Ambrose Lee's lands and also owned property in Kentucky. George fathered 10 children and one daughter married into the Savage family. George's son Thomas married Betheland Stevens (d. 1821) of Caroline in 1796. Zacharias Taliaferro was the guardian of his children. Gabriel's first cousin was John Penn (1741-1788), a Caroline lawyer who left that county because of a political controversy for North Carolina where he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Another John Penn, a friend of the Taliaferros, moved from Spotsylvania to Amherst and lived on Huff and Indian Creek.

Gabriel Penn owned only 866 acres in Amherst at his death, for a loss of more than half his lands. Penn's father-in-law, m Richard Calloway,

patented land in Brunswick, Lunenburg, and Bedford. He served as a major in the French & Indian War. Calloway was a trustee of New London before moving to Kentucky in 1775. He was elected a delegate of that territory in 1779. Calloway battled the Indians throughout his residence in what was then western Virginia. His daughter was temporarily kidnaped by the red men and he valorously participated as a defender in the siege of Boonsborough in 1778. Calloway was unable to escape the Indians for long and met his death at their hands. Calloway County, Kentucky, was named in his honor. The descendants of amherst justices occasionally were connected in places far removed from the Piedmont. Roderick McCulloch's son left "Verdant Vale" for Missouri by 1834. Gabriel Penn's great granddaughter Elizabeth Marks married Justice McCulloch's grandson Roderick Douglas in Osciola, Missouri in 1840. One of their children returned to neighboring Rockbridge County to be educated at VMI. See Brown, Cabells & their Kin, pp. 321-323.

92) A. Brown Papers; Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gazette, Feb. 11, 1775; VMHB, XIII, 416-417; Alfred Percy, Piedmont Apocalypse, p. 25; Brown, Cabells & their Kin, passim.

93) Amherst County Order Book, March 1775; Brown, Cabells & their Kin, p. 107; Cabell Diary, March 18, 24, 1775; March 1775 Convention Proceedings, passim, VSL.

94) Cabell Diary, April 1775.

95) William Sweeny, The Higginbotham Family; Brown, Cabells & their Kin.

96) Cabell Diary, June 1775; JHOB, 1775, pp. 217, 177, 225, 262, 278, 283. The deer hunting ordinance that was obnoxious to Amherst was repealed on June 22.

97) JHOB, 1775, p. 208; "Letters from Virginia, 1774-1781" in Magazine of History, III,(1906), 159.

98) Amherst Revolutionary War pension applications, VSL.

99) July-August 1775 convention Proceedings; IX H 9-35, 65.

100) Convention Proceedings.

101) Cabell Diary, August 1775; Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire, passim; Proceedings of Committee of Safety, VSL, passim; Convention Proceedings.

102) A. Brown Papers; Cabell Dairy, Aug. 30, 1775.

103) B. H. Depuy, The Huguenot B. Depuy; A. Brown Papers; Eckenrode, Revolution in Virginia; Cabells & Their Kin, p. 108; Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pp. 3-5; Revolutionary War Pension Applications, National Archives.

104) Cabell Papers, Box I.

105) Cornelius Thomas's will and inventory, Amherst Will Book, 1775-1776. The nature of Thomas's death is as much of a conundrum as his origins. It is conceivable that Thomas died an unnatural death as there is a cryptic reference in James Nevil's will to the place where "the captain was killed." For the contribution of Thomas' estate to the war effort, see Cabell Diary, 1776-1782, passim; 1782 Amherst County Tax Lists, VSL.

106) Dill, Carter Braxton ; Amherst Deed Books; Va. Gazette, Aug 26 (?), 1773; JHQB, 1775, p. 189.

107) Brown, Cabells & Their Kin, p. 193; Cabell Papers, Box I; Va. Gazette, Nov. 30, 1775. Some soldiers in Nicholas Cabell's company were James Barnett, Benjamin Wright, John Fitzgerald, James McAlexander Jr., Joseph Neal, Ralph Jopling, and James Bicknal. Some seventeen men received a total of close to £30 in pay. Privates averaged £1 a piece. The Rockfish camp was located off the main road between modern Hebron and Rodes churches.

108) Cabell Diary, Nov. 1775; Committee of Safety MSS Account Book, folio 18, VSL; Dr. George Gilmer "Revolutionary Memoranda," VHS; Eckenrode, Revolution in Virginia.

109) John R. Alden, The American Revolution, passim; Moses Wright pension application; Amherst Order Book, late 1775, pp. 141-144; IX H 101; A. Brown Papers; Dill, Carter Braxton, p. 23; Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, p. 3.

110) IX H 177, 82; Brown, Cabells & their Kin, passim. In Capt. Samuel J. Cabell's company, Alexander Rose served as first lieutenant, Benjamin Taliaferro as second lieutenant, and James Barnett as ensign.

111) Cabell Papers, Box I.

Notes For Chapter VII

1) John H. Moore, A History of Albemarle, p. 77. The Reverend Robert Rose's sons subsequently became prominent in the religious life of the county as vestrymen.

2) See miscellaneous deed and order book references to Ichabod Camp. Also, Alexander Brown, "Old Amherst Parish from 1761 to 1821,": Brown Papers in the Swen Library, William and Mary College. Camp graduated from Yale in 1743, settled in Middleton, Conn., and subsequently married Constant Ward. His wife died in 1756 and Camp left for North Carolina in 1760. After preaching in Lunenburg County, he arrived in Amherst in April 1762. Camp eventually owned at least 168 acres at the parish glebe and on the northern side of Rucker's Run. After Camp immigrated to the Old Northwest, there is no further mention of the early parish records, and it is presumed that the minister departed with these records in tow.

3) See Francis Walker, The Early Episcopal Church in the Amherst-Nelson Area, *passim*; and A. Brown op. cit. Richard Pritchard was sexton of St. John's from 1773-1783, living on approximately eighty acres in Purgatory Swamp. Pritchard annually received three hundred pounds of tobacco for his services. St. John's was built by John Coleman in the early 1770s near Purgatory Swamp and modern Fairmont, some three miles from Lovingsston. According to information available to Alexander Brown, now lost, the construction of St. John's cost £50 in 1772. Thomas Bibb was sexton of the small and isolated Bent Chapel. The site of Rucker's Church (also known as St. Matthew's) was four miles west of modern Amherst Court House near Coolwell and Faulconerville. Maple Run (or St. Mark's) Church was two miles from modern Clifton in Amherst. The glebe itself was near the intersection of modern routes 151 and 29.

4) For information on the Bedford Quakers and their neighbors, see James P. Bell, Our Quaker Friends of Ye Oldern Times: the South River Meeting Records in the Virginia State Library, Acc. nos #19869, #19870, and #19872, esp. pp. 122, 132, 81, 117; and Rufus

M. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies . The South River Meeting House served Albemarle, Halifax, Amherst, and Bedford. Charles Lynch Sr., served as clerk of the meeting from 1758-1769. There were probably never more than one hundred and fifty members at South River at any one time. Many of these Quakers were quite wealthy. Micajah Clark owned at least 10,000 acres in modern Campbell County and along Tobacco Row Mountain and Porridge Creek in Amherst. Charles Clark lived by Bollings' Creek. Other Amherst Quakers included Thomas Moorman (1705-1765) and his son Micajah Moorman (1735-1806). The Amherst friends held worship services on Sunday and conducted their business meetings on Thursday. Although the great tide of Quaker emigration did not commence until after the Revolution, a number of Amherst Friends had left by 1775. These included Micajah Moorman, who departed for Caroline County. Emigration often meant the severance of links to the larger Quaker community. Anyone wishing to transfer his membership to a new residence first had to undergo a thorough investigation for moral rectitude. For further information on Piedmont Quaker families, see Wade Henshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy Vol VI.

5) See Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia 1740-1790; Howard M. Wilson, The Lexington Presbytery; Katherine C. Brown, "The Role of Presbyterian Dissent in Colonial and Revolutionary Virginia 1740-1785.", doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1969; and J. Tinsley Coleman, History of Rockfish Presbyterian Church, 1746-1946, #2605, University of Virginia Library. The House of Burgesses created the Committee on Religion in 1767, a result largely of Presbyterian pressure.

6) See "List of Baptisms Performed by John Craig 1740-1747 in the Univ. of Va. MS, #6293; "Dongal Presbytery Minutes": Howard M. Wilson, comp., "An Index to Hanover Presbytery Minutes", Union Theological Seminary, Richmond; William M. D. Rachel, "Early Minutes of Hanover Presbytery," Va. Mag. of History and Biography, LXIII (1955) 53-78.

7) Hanover Presbytery Minutes, MSS vols. I-II, Union Theological

Seminary, Richmond, esp. I, 25a, 27a. For further information on Craig and his sermons, see Historical Foundation of Montreat, North Carolina, film RSV, reel VI4. Patillo emigrated to North Carolina in 1765.

8) Hanover Presbytery Minutes, passim. It is likely that most of these congregations assembled in open fields rather than in structures like the Rockfish Church. The only synododal requirement to form a congregation was the approval of "supplies" for a particular church community. Substantiation of Amherst pastorates can be documented for the following ministers from 1761-1775: John Wright at Tobacco Row Mountain in 1762; Alexander Miller from 1761-1776; James Cresswell in 1766 (later moved to North Carolina); Samuel Leake by 1766 (later to Cove Church, died in 1775); and Thomas Jackson in 1768 (died in 1773). Also, William Irwin at Buffalo in 1770; Samuel Black; David Rice; Richard Sankey (died 1790); and Charles Cumming (died in 1812). For additional information of Amherst Presbyterians, see W. H. Foote, I, Sketches, 101-105, 118-119, II, 75, 89.

9) Hanover Presbytery Minutes, II, passim. See also, Price Life of Rice.

10) Wallace was the kinsman of Caleb Wallace, a graduate of Princeton (1770), the clerk of the presbytery, and a resident of Bedford. Captain Michael Wallace served as an Amherst elder for Rev. Irwin at Rockfish.

11) For the Rockfish meetings, see Hanover Presbytery Minutes and Religious Petitions 1774-1802, reel 425a, Virginia State Library. Other colonial elders included Thomas Montgomery in 1760, Samuel Black from 1760-1767, and William Irwin from 1770-1776.

12) Hanover Presbytery Minutes, III, 65a.

13) Gewehr, Great Awakening, pp. 71, 221-170. Thomas Hargitt and James Meneese represented Amherst at a Baptist conference in Albemarle in 1771. See ibid, p. 70.

14) Samuel Davies, 1752, quoted in Foote, Sketches, I,203-204. See also, Hanover Presbytery Minutes, Oct. 3, 1764. Journal of the House of Burgesses (JHOB), 1773-1775, p. 36. Dunmore merely repeated what a number of his predecessors had voiced. In 1756, for example, Governor Dinwiddie made much the same point: "Gaming...has been pretty general in this Country, and is now much practiced by the lower Class of our People. I mean tradesmen and inferior planters, who in all Countries are very apt to follow the Examples of their Superiors. This great Vice is often attended with many other Sins, and frequently with the Ruin of families." See JHOB, 1752-1758, p. 100. 15) For a general overview of modern interpretations of colonial society, see Richard Beeman, "New Social History and the Search for Community in Colonial American," in the American Quarterly, (Fall 1977), pp. 422 ff.

16) Amherst County Order Book, I, 479.

17) Ibid., various references from 1761 to 1775, Even ministers were accused of improperly treating their servants and suffered the loss of runaways. John Kerr, an indentured servant of Ichabod Camp, absconded in 1769. See Order Book, II, 502. James Montgomery provided a rare description of an Amherst servant when his convict bondsman, James Clark, ran away. In a newspaper advertisement, Montgomery claimed that Clark had escaped from his Rockfish settlement, wearing a Negro cotton jacket. In addition, Clark was alleged to have stolen a country made shirt, a fine linen shirt, long breeches, a Kilmarnock hat, and a felt hat. Clark was described as an Irish convict who spoke only broken English. He was twenty-eight years old and was five feet six inches tall. Montgomery concluded his account by offering twenty shillings for the speedy apprehension of Clark. See Rind's Virginia Gazette Dec. 22, 1768.

18) See the Amherst County Order books for the individuals punished for moral crimes. A perusal of these manuscripts quickly indicates the class lines of Amherst justice. Concerning poor relief, the Quakers were probably the most generous of any Amherst social group. See the South River Meeting records, Virginia State Library. The beneficiaries of Thomas Waugh's largesse included Richard Eliot,

George and Rebecca Noe, and Margaret Burchfield. In 1773 Edward Cottrell and Spencer Rayfield are mentioned as recipients of relief. Bastards, like young Thomas Friggith, only received £1 for their support, but their expenses were covered through apprenticeship service. The families of the poor, unfortunately, often only benefitted from county funeral services. James Mathews and Nathan Ward were the official gravediggers in 1772, while John Gilmore and Mary Gregory were employed as coffin makers. See A. Brown Papers, College of William and Mary, II, Box five.

19) "A Dissertation of Education in the Form of a Letter from James Maury to Robert Jackson....," July 17, 1762, edited by Helen D. Bullock, in Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society, IV, 43.

20) Amherst order book, 1775; Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 189.

21) Ibid., passim; Brown Papers, College of William and Mary. William Clay may have been an early Baptist in the county. This list of teachers is undoubtedly incomplete.

22) Cabell Family Papers, University of Virginia, #5084, Box I. See copy of this letter in appendix to this chapter. The length of school terms probably varied according to contract and curriculum. William Cheeke, for example, began his course in early March. See the diary of Colonel William Cabell, March 9, 1769, in the University of Virginia Manuscripts Department.

23) Cabell Papers, passim. For an example of Maury's scholarship, see his Memoirs of a Huguenot Family. Augusta Academy (later Washington College) was established by John Brown and was open for instruction in 1763.

24) For gleanings on places of origin of many colonial William and Mary students, see A Provisional List of Alumni of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Further genealogical reconstruction and work in the bursar's records of the college might yield additional Amherst matriculants.

25) For further information on the College of William and Mary before the Revolution, see Parke Rouse, Cows on Campus: Williamsburg in Bygone Days. Parke Rouse, ibid. Outstanding professors like William Small provided some continuity and helped to minimize administrative disruptions.

26) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 192. Kenneth Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution. The colonial theater at Williamsburg was built for Hallam's troupe of actors in 1752. The Virginia Comedians performed in Williamsburg in 1768. This group included both dancers and actors. From the summer of 1770 to the fall of 1772, the Douglas troupe of actors played in the capital. The latter introduced various sentimental comedies to the Virginia stage. Some of the dramatic pieces were bawdy while other were very complex and serious, such as the "Beggars' Opera" with its sixty-nine songs. Theater goers had a choice of seats in the gallery, in the pit, or in the more exclusive private boxes.

27) Cornelius Thomas's inventory, 1775, Amherst will book; Cabell papers, University of Virginia, op. cit.; Rind's Virginia Gazette, Dec. 13, 1770. The tastes of Burgess Cornelius Thomas in literature definitely favored history. Dr. William Cabell's interests were reflected in his philosophical and technical treatises.

28) Cabell papers, op., cit; Neill Campbell's inventory, Amherst Will Book; Cornelius Thomas's inventory, op. cit. Francis Bacon and Montesquieu were other philosophers represented in Amherst libraries.

29) Purdie and Dixon's Virginia Gazette advertisements, December, 1775; inventory of Dr. William Cabell's books, Cabell papers, op. cit.

30) Cabell papers, op. cit.

31) Alexander Brown papers, op. cit. Box V, Dec. 12, 1763.

32) Robert Bolling also contributed some thirty-five poems to the London Magazine. See J. A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the

Banishment of Colonel Chiswell," in Early American Literature, VI (Fall 1971) 99-142; Kenneth Silverman, Colonial American Poetry; and Jay Hubbel, The South in American Literature.

33) Alexander Brown maintained that Colonel William Cabell was not much interested in literature, but that he scrupulously visited his various far-flung plantations twice a day. See Cabells and their Kin, p. 134.

34) See Cabell papers, *op. cit.*

35) All of the subsequent information on Amherst agriculture is derived from Alexander Brown, "Old Amherst," in the Brown papers, *op. cit.*, unless otherwise specified.

36) See G. Melvin Herndon, "Hemp in Colonial Virginia," in Agricultural History, (1963).

37) John T. Schlebecker, Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming; Cornelius Thomas's inventory, *op. cit.* In addition to crops and livestock, some precious metals continued to be exported from Rose's and Chiswell's mines in the 1760s.

38) Ibid. The value of heifers ranged from twenty to thirty shillings. Bulls were sold for £2, although special breeds like Cornelius Thomas's Brindle bull, could push this price up considerably. Thomas also owned three beehives, as a source for honey.

39) Alexander Brown papers, *op. cit.* Despite the fact that one acre of tobacco could produce one hogshead, large estates were needed to provide fresh soil nutrients. Tobacco fields generally had to be totally abandoned even if crops were systematically rotated.

40) This description of tobacco cultivation can be found in Alexander Brown's papers, *op. cit.* and in Robert Rose's diary, August 28, 1750. Overseers were also required to maintain sturdy fences to demarcate the planter's lands. See also, Colonel William Cabell's diary, May 30 and June 1, 1769.

41) William Tatham, An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco (London, 1800) pp. 5-6. For tobacco storage in Amherst, see the storage book of Nicholas Cabell, Cabell papers, op. cit.

42) Ships with known Amherst cargoes include the True Patriot (1757), Captain David Meriwether; The Planter (1758-1771); and The America (1758). All three transported goods to Bristol. The Virginia (1769); Mary (1769); Sprightly Nancy (1772); Elizabeth (1772); and The Liberty (1775) also shipped to Bristol. The July (1770-1771), commanded by Captain John Breakhill, consigned Amherst merchandise to Liverpool. References to the Bristol ships may be found in John Harvie's account for Peter Jefferson's estate, 1757-1758, in the Jefferson papers, University of Virginia; and in the papers of John Harmer & Walter King, Virginia Loyalist Claims Depositions, S. R. 2394, Folder K, and S.R. 2346, Folder H, in the Virginia State Library. The Liverpool voyages are noted in the Cabell papers, op. cit.

43) See Richard Pares, Merchants and Planters, in the Economic History Review, 1960, supplement #4. All tobacco was marketed either by consignment or through direct purchase.

44) Information on tobacco prices and Amherst harvests can be found in Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, volume one. See also Alexander Brown papers, op. cit., and Walter King's Loyalist Claims Depositions, op. cit. For the flood's destruction in 1771, see John C. Van Horne, ed. The Correspondence of William Nelson as Acting Governor of Virginia, 1770-1771, p. 144, for compensation claims. For Moses Swinney's claim, see Virginia Magazine of History & Biography XVIII, 274. Amherst planters were particularly hard hit by the flood, since elsewhere the year 1771 marked one of the peaks of the colonial tobacco market. The havoc wrought by the flood led the House of Burgesses to advocate tobacco insurance policies.

45) Robert Donald, to Charles Steuart, Feb. 10, 1773, in Charles Steuart papers, MS 5028, p. 29 in the Historical Society of

Pennsylvania. Virginia currency was exchanged for sterling at a 25 percent discount. The Amherst mines owned by Speaker Robinson afforded some opportunity to gain hard currency, but the veins were virtually exhausted by his death in 1766.

46) There is little specific commercial information on colonial Amherst to be found in the records of Albemarle or Bedford. The extant Augusta documents are a bit more helpful. Read & Johnston, retailers in Staunton, conducted business through Rockfish Gap. William Anderson, later of Rockbridge, had Amherst customers in 1775. Andrew Reid of Augusta maintained close commercial contacts with his kinsmen in Amherst. The Augusta County Fee book, 1768, p. 128, may refer to Amherst business. The most noteworthy resident merchant of early colonial Amherst was certainly Gabriel Penn.

47) References to trade in goods other than tobacco for Amherst can be found in the Alexander Brown papers, op. cit., The road to Augusta through Rockfish Gap had been cleared by 1767. The Great Wagon Road passed west of the Blue Ridge while its auxiliary, the Lower Road, traversed territory east of the mountains.

48) See Elizabeth Donnan, "Eighteenth Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry," in the Journal of Economic and Business History, IV (1931) 70-98. The Carys also had important business and personal connections in Virginia. John Norton & Co. of Yorktown provided one of their strongest colonial links.

49) Cabell papers, op. cit. See also Rupert C. Jarus, ed., Customs Letter-Book of the Port of Liverpool 1711-1813. Manchester, 1954.

50) Almost all of the Bristol merchants trading with Amherst were members of the Society of Merchant Adventurers, the most powerful guild of the city. The company of Farrell & Jones was the leading Bristol firm dealing with Virginia. In the case of Amherst, however, this outfit played a subordinate role to the firm of Harmer & King. Joseph Farrell had begun his career in Virginia before moving

to bigger and better opportunities in England. For a variety of reasons, Bristol was unable to compete successfully with London, Liverpool, and Glasgow after 1760 in the search for colonial markets. Bristol's share of colonial commerce dropped rapidly after 1767.

51) There is a voluminous amount of literature on the Scottish tobacco trade with Virginia. For a general description of Scottish business practices, see A. F. Voke, "Accounting Methods of Colonial Merchants in Virginia," Journal of Accountancy, XLII, (1926).

52) Alexander Speirs (1714-1780) was perhaps the most powerful of all the Scottish tycoons. By 1775, he had bought controlling interest in two other large colonial firms: William Cunninghame and Henderson, McCaul, & Co. Speirs's diversified interests also included importing wheat from Amherst and re-exporting tobacco to the Farmers' General Syndicate of France. The Scots also shipped colonial tobacco to Ireland and Holland. Speirs's business in Virginia tobacco totalled more than six thousand hogsheads in 1774. See also T. M. Devine, "A Glasgow Tobacco Merchant 1781," in the William & Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. XXXII, July 1976, 501-513.

William Cunninghame at one time managed fourteen stores in Virginia and owned six ocean-going vessels. One of his stores was located in Amherst. See the records of William Cunninghame, 1768-1775, in the Glasgow City archives. A copy may be found in the archives department of Colonial Williamsburg. For references to Cunninghame's operations in Amherst, see A. O. 12/56, pp. 305-308 in the Public Record Office. James Buchanan(d. 1786) conducted a great deal of business with Carter Braxton, Cornelius Thomas, and the Cabells. See Cabell papers, op. cit., passim; and The Correspondence of William Nelson p. 146 for references to Buchanan and Amherst. In 1771, for example, Buchanan shipped Yorkshire manufactured good to Colonel Cabell. Duncan, Scot & Company owned a store in Charlottesville. James and Robert Donals ranged the upper James, beginning in the 1750s. They owned the Rocky Ridge warehouse and were especially influential in the commerce of Prince Edward, Hanover, and Charlotte. A colonial branch of the Hunter family operated from Fredericksburg and mined iron in the

1750s. Henderson, McCauly, & Co. owned Schockoe's Warehouse in Richmond. These facilities allowed them to engross much of the Amherst tobacco trade. Alexander McCaul had begun business with the Amherst planters by 1753. Archibald McCaul operated primarily from Henrico and Hobb's Hole. Neil McCaul worked out of Fredericksburg. For these merchants, see Alexander Brown papers, op. cit. The height of the Scottish tobacco trade in Virginia was reached relatively late, lasting only from 1769-1775. See also the letter book of William Cunninghame in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

53) Other companies doing business in Amherst included Cout & Crosse of Aberdeen, Scotland (John Crosse serving as local agent); Richard Harvie & Co.; McKean, Gordon, & Co.; Robert Hastie & Co. (John Winbush serving as local agent in 1760-1762); Calvard & Pleasants of Louisa; and Richard Oswald & Company of London. Other individual merchants in the western Piedmont, with year of first reference in Amherst, were James Parker (1752), Alexander Mackie (1757), George Mill (1760) Alexander Baine (1761), William Mitchell (1761), Hector McAllester (1764), John Swan (1767), Peter Davie (1768), and Thomas Montgomery. Other than the Scots, Gabriel Penn remained the most prominent merchant in Amherst. As seen in the last chapter, he was as much a planter as a merchant. David Ross was an independent merchant with stores stretching from Petersburg to New London. He shipped wheat as far as the West Indies. For reference to Scottish colonial trade with the West Indies, see Jamieson papers in the Chalmers Collection of the New York Public Library. William Allason was based out of Falmouth. See "The Letters of William Allason, Merchant of Falmouth, Virginia," in Richmond College Historical Papers, II (June 1917) 118-175, based on the Allason Letter Books, 1757-1770, in the Virginia State Library.

Only a handful of merchants actually lived in Amherst. James Wilson owned four hundred acres on Rocky Run adjoining the property of Ichabod Camp. In the 1740s and 1750s, James Warren and Nathan Whittle had managed the Buffalo Ridge mines. Thomas Reid alternated residences in Wicomico and Amherst until 1775 when he

fled to England. Samuel Gist, a friend of the Bristol merchants Harmer and King, owned the estate of Peddlar Farms in Amherst. He was also a loyalist who was forced to return to England. Neill Campbell was one of the few Scottish merchants to live and be buried in Amherst. Virtually no resident planters chose to incorporate their commercial activities. Instead, they relied on full time merchants who had better access to capital and European markets. Again Gabriel Penn stands out as an exception to this rule.

The Scottish factors in Amherst usually received a commission of 5 percent on tobacco purchases and 10 percent on imported goods sold. Each factor needed to process at least three hundred hogsheads of tobacco annually to produce sufficient profit for their Scottish firms. The domestic life of a Scottish factor was very unconventional compared to the settled routines of planters. Marriage was frowned upon by the magnates in Glasgow as disruptive to business. Many merchants maintained mistresses instead and fathered illegitimate children. Commercial pressures cause a number of factors to become alcoholics, suffer nervous breakdowns, or run afoul of the law. The senior partners of Glasgow firms constantly lamented the real or imagined dissipation of their representatives in Virginia. yet, the social ledger of Virginia merchants also revealed assets. Many factors became wealthy and commanded respect among the planters because of their power, contacts, and assistance. The drudgery of store life was relieved by the work of slaves and indentured servants. Many merchants were also well read, since cosmopolitanism and a grounding in classical education were indispensable in maintaining farflung contacts and in mastering complex business operations. For the lifestyle of Scottish traders, see J. H. Soltow, "Scottish Traders in Virginia, 1750-1775," in the Economic History Review, second series, XII (1957), 83-98.

54) For information on the Trents, see the Virginia Gazette for July 25, and August 5, 1772. Other merchants besides Irving who delved into the Amherst real estate market were Richard Oswald & Robert Hastie of London. This firm fell heir to land on Buffalo Island. For further information on the Amherst merchants and their connections,

see the Cabell papers, op. cit.; the Alexander Brown papers, op. cit.; various issues of the Virginia Gazette; and the Amherst order, deed and will books.

55) Cabell papers, #5084, Box I, University of Virginia. These imported goods were purchased by the export of eight hogsheads of tobacco in 1770. Drawing upon this bill of exchange, Colonel William Cabell ordered £31 worth of goods from his Liverpool representatives. Although this list of imported goods is extensive, it reflects a level of affluence below that of the Tidewater planters. In turn, the Virginia planters as a whole were far less prosperous than their West Indian counterparts in Jamaica and Barbados. Each white continental southerner received an average of £1 exported goods from England, while each West Indian planter averaged £20 in shipped merchandise. See John H. Moore, Albemarle, p. 35. Before 1771 Cabells generally placed orders to England totaling £200 per year. See Brown, Cabell and their Kin, p. 97. Cornelius Thomas placed orders for English steel. See Thomas's inventory, op. cit. The Cabell invoice reveals the receipt of seeds and survey equipment. Thus not all English export to Amherst were clothing, books, or luxury items.

56) There has been some general work on colonial Virginia architecture, but little is to be gleaned of the social history of Amherst from these accounts. Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts, essays the most ambitious attempt to analyse the material culture of the Piedmont. His focus, however is on Albemarle, Louisa, and Goochland. His use of esoteric terminology and his disjointed methodology make it extremely difficult to transfer the results of his study to Amherst.

57) A number of old buildings, listed by Alexander Brown in Cabells and their Kin and in his various manuscripts, have since burned or been demolished. Contemporary studies of standing buildings in Amherst are numerous, but should be studied by the reader with caution. Since I am not an architectural historian, I would not venture to vouch for any dates cited in these accounts. Some of

these sources either contradict one another or have different criteria of selection. A number of Amherst and Nelson residents have contacted the author and disputed the dating of various houses listed in these written sources. This list is therefore tentative in many senses of the word. I invite more knowledgeable architectural authorities to investigate further into this matter.

The Amherst County Environmental Studies, edited by Katherine Seaman, mentions the following colonial housing still erect in modern Amherst: Athlone, near the old Maple Run Church (named for an Irish town); Forest Hill; Geddes, the home of Robert Rose and later of Colonel Hugh Rose; Haywood Plantation, in the Peddler District near Agricola; Ilington, also known as the Dillard home; "The Little Top House," near Route 130; "The Log Cabin," near Route 130; Minton Farm, built by the Cabells near the James River; Poplar Grove, built in 1773 by Aaron Higginbotham near old Ebenezer Baptist; Peddler Farm, owned by the Tory merchant Samuel Gist; Society Ridge; Tusculum, built by David Crawford; "The Wigwam," near Route 131 and Elon; and Winton, built by relatives of Patrick Henry in 1771 (now the site of a county club near Route 151).

Connie Ferguson Farrar and Emelie Hines, in Old Virginia Houses: The Piedmont, list the following additional structures standing in Amherst: the glebe, the home of Ichabod Camp, now known as Minor Hall; Maple Run church at Athlone; (currently owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Howell); and Red Hill, inhabited by the Ellis family near Peddler River. Horace G. Campbell, The Campbell Story, also refers to the colonial house of Mint Dale, owned by the Joel Campbell family some six miles from modern Amherst Court House near Rocky Creek. In Nelson County, Farrar and Hines, op. cit., list Cherry Hill, owned by Stephen Turner (located between Arrington and Variety Mills); Rockford at Rockfish River, begun by Major William Harris before 1768; Trinity, John Lyon's home in the 1760s; and Union Hill, near Wingina and to be moved to Goochland County by the early 1980s. Leroy and Mary Dietrich, in the Nelson County Times, May 25, 1976, list Tye Brook, the home of Edmund Wilcox, clerk of the county (located near Piney River on Route 56). The miller's house at Variety Mills, near Rucker's Run, may also date from ca. 1760. This list is undoubtedly incomplete.

58) Various Taliaferros owned land in Amherst and were well acquainted with the local gentry. Richard Tallifero designed Elsing Green, the northern Virginia residence of Carter Braxton. Taliaferro also probably helped to instruct Thomas Jefferson on architectural principles. Since Jefferson had only begun his architectural studies before the Revolution, it is not likely that he designed any Amherst structures before 1776.

59) Cabell papers, *op. cit.* West's bill for constructing Liberty Hall was £34.19.5. West was also a cabinet maker, designing and repairing desks, book cases, and domestic furniture. For St. John's construction, see Alexander Brown papers, *op. cit.*, Box V. Hugh Rose, the merchant Charles Irving, John Dillard, and Roderick McCulloch all subscribed money for the construction of the church. The main building cost £50. Key's Church was probably built by the churchwardens themselves.

60) For works on Tidewater buildings, see Thomas T. Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776, and Marcus Whiffen, The Eighteenth Century House of Williamsburg. Waterman, *ibid.* This entire work describes the various Georgian styles in Virginia.

61) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, pp. 136-138; Jerry Simpson, "Union Hill, A Proud Old Home," Charlottesville Daily Progress, June 8, 1969; and Dorothy Jones, "Union Hill, A Nelson County Landmark," Lynchburg News, March 21, 1969.

62) Farrar and Hines, Old Virginia Houses, characterize the Trinity house of John Lyon as a good upland example of the typical middle class Williamsburg residence. This Amherst structure was also similar in design to the Rolfe home in Surry County. For Penn's home and ordinary, see the Virginia Gazette of March 21, 1771. Penn's ordinary was located eight miles from the courthouse on the main county road. Penn claimed revenues of £300 annually from liquor sales alone. Penn's promotional pitch, however, must have strained the credulity of his readers when he exclaimed that his inn was as well located for trade as any spot in North America. Needless to say, Penn was a formidable huckster and merchant. His house, then

rented by the county clerk, Edmund Wilcox, contained two rooms below stairs and one above. For the furniture and interior of Verdant Vale, see the inventory of Cornelius Thomas, op.cit.

63) For a general study of domestic life in colonial Virginia, see Edmund S. Morgan, Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century. Horse racing was probably the most popular sport in Amherst, at least among the gentry. Many tracks were maintained throughout the county. The most noted equestrian contests were held at modern Warminster, near the Cabell Liberty Hall estate. For the Williamsburg cock fighting match, see Purdie & Dixons' Virginia Gazette for May 22, 1773.

64) Gottfried Kneller's engravings were also very popular in colonial Virginia. To my knowledge, no pre-Revolutionary paintings have survived from Amherst.

65) Cornelius Thomas's inventory, op. cit. and the Cabell papers, op. cit. In addition to the itinerant Germans, the Italian music master Francis Alberti instructed students at Monticello in Albemarle. Minstrel shows were also popular throughout the Piedmont. Purdie and Dixon's bookstore in Williamsburg stocked European sheet music and various instruments. The London Song Book was one of the more popular collections of music in colonial Virginia. Colonial women appear to have played the guitar, an instrument used by few men.

66) See deed books of counties cited. By 1737, Harmer, King, William Randolph, Nicholas Meriwether, Jr., John Cole, and Peter Jefferson had received a grant of 50,000 acres at Crabb Orchard near the headsprings of the Sherando and close to the Beverly Tract in Augusta County. Although troubled by Indians, this land had become settled enough for various proprietors to request ferry service in 1736. See JHQB, 1736, p. 208. On May 5, 1738, William Randolph, John Harmer, and Walter King received 20,000 acres on the Tye and Rockfish in Amherst along with 10,000 acres on Wart (War?) Mountain. This latter grant was near the Roanoke River on the borders of modern Patrick, Floyd, Carrol, and Henry counties. This

Wart (War?) Mountain tract (later known as Buffalo Knob) was soon expanded to more than 24,000 acres. In 1742, William Randolph, Harmer, and King bought 12,000 acres formerly belonging to Isham Randolph in old Goochland County. Lunsford Lomax was brought in as a partner in both the Henry County and Amherst lands. In 1742, Lomax, William Randolph, Harmer, and King purchased 5,000 acres on the branches of the Tye and Buffalo in Amherst. In 1744, Harmer, King, William Randolph, Warner Lewis, and William Randolph, Jr. received a further 10,000 acres along the Roanoke River in southwest Virginia adjoining the earlier Wart Mountain cession. In April 1748 Walter King, David Bell, Joseph Bell and Archibald Cary received 60,000 acres in Lunenburg County near Peter's Creek and the Dan River. Some of these grants were contested in caveat litigation and others were sold in speculative transactions. For all of the grants listed above, see also the colonial land grant books in the Virginia State Library.

In real estate matters Walter King appears to have been more active than his partner, John Harmer. By the time of the Revolution, King owned 5,600 acres in Albemarle (later Fluvanna) and 3,576 acres in Buckingham. King owned four plantations in Albemarle and two in Buckingham. Altogether, Harmer and King owned more than 29,000 acres throughout Virginia by 1775. In Amherst alone the Harmer-King-Randolph-Lomax conglomerate owned 29,063 acres at the height of their investment. King described his Amherst lands as extending from the first station of the Tye to beyond Rucker's Run .

67) See JHQ8 for Harmer's activities in the 1740s. Harmer served as a burgess from 1742-1747, resigning in the latter year to become the Williamsburg coroner. Harmer was originally a partner in the firm of Thomas Chamberlayne and John Lidderdale of Bristol. The first Walter King arrived in Virginia as a partner of John King, Lyonel Lyde, John Lewis, Jeremiah Jennings, and Thomas Long. All invested in the iron works of Sittenbourn Parish in King George County. See the deed book of King George, August 1723. Some descendants of Lyonel Lyde subsequently resided in King William County. One John King dealt in iron transactions throughout the 1740s from Williamsburg. In 1751 Walter King the younger contributed two doubloons to help aid Rev. Bacon's Charity works

School of Talbot County, Maryland. See the first series of the William & Mary Quarterly, XII, (1903-1904), 156, and the Virginia Gazette for October 24, 1751. John King, Sr., perhaps the father of Walter King, was the mayor of Bristol from 1732-1733 and died in 1734,

(Note from Seaman: this is the end of the footnotes in hand.)

Notes Chapter VIII

- 1) Amherst County Order Book, 1776, p. 146
- 2) Prior to Cabell's marching the unit to the Tidewater, Cabell drilled the company at Pond Field in Amherst. Captain William Fontaine of Amherst commanded another unit under the leadership of Colonel Patrick Henry at Williamsburg. A third minute company was headed by Gabriel Penn.
- 3) The flag of the district units bore the words "Buckingham District" on one side and "Virginia for Constitutional Liberty" on the others.
- 4) Colonel William Cabell's Diary, March 24, 1776. This breaks down to 2,750 blacks of whom 1,348 were female, and 5,296 whites of whom 2,511 were female. The deputy sheriffs, Joseph Tucker, Gabriel Penn, and Benjamin Taliaferro, helped collect the census data. Virginia numbered some 650,000 in all and was the most populous state.
- 5). Alexander Brown Papers, Williamsburg, II, Box V.
- 6) Wheat would sell for 1s.6p. to 2s. per bushel. Fat beef would sell for 11p. to 1s., fat hogs of 3s.
- 7) Lots were to be sold in groups of seven in ascending prices of five shillings, ten shillings, and fifteen shillings per acre.
- 8) Va. Gazette, Purdie and Dixon, Feb. 1775 on the town of Bethel and various issues.
- 9) Legislative Petition A831, signed by sixty persons; check House Journals for that session.
- 10) Copy found in Cabell Papers, #5084, Box I. For a discussion of American culture in 1776, see Kenneth Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution.

NOTES

1 Alexander Brown, "A List of those who Took up Settlement in Old Amherst before 1761," Brown Papers, from library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.: see also David J. Mays, Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, (Cambridge, Mass, 1952) volume I, for further information on colonial activities and John Robinson's financial affairs. The Penns were also proteges of the Pendletons.

6 See Blanche R. Baldredge, comp., My Virginia Kin, (n.p., 1958) pp. 162-3; Albemarle Deed Book II, Virginia State Library, Richmond, p. 55.

7 John Syme, Jr., who also had Amherst connections, sold William Nelson's property. William Nelson bought land in North Garden and along the Hardware River from 1753-7.

8 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," Va. land patents, 1751, p. 315?

9 See Dumas Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, Appendix, II, p. 440; Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

10 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers" see also Emily Bruguire papers in her possession in Nelson County.

11 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," see also various articles by Powhatan Ellis. Charles Ellis married Susannah Hardy. Their son, Josiah, who inherited Red Hill, was also the father of Powhatan, the Mississippi politician and writer. Additiona Ellis information can be found in the Library of Congress.

12 See Memorials of the Crawford Family, p. 72.

13 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers," Rucker Genealogy: John Rucker was a brugess in 1742. Bernard Gains was an acquaintance of the Ruckers from Richmond County. His family moved to Amherst.

14 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

15 Cliff Ryan, "Genealogy of the Ryan Family," mss copies from miscellaneous court records.

16 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers."

17 See also Albemarle Deed Book, March 25, 1748, John Warren to James Warren of Lunenburg County plus four others. This recorded 100,000(?) to be invested in Buffalo Ridge minerals for a 1000-year lease.

18 Brown, "List of Old Amherst Settlers." For additional leads on early settlers of Old Amherst not covered in the sources listed in Table One, see Swems' Virginia Historical Index by name of family and by listing under Amherst County; various family genealogies, printed and manuscript at the Virginia State Library and Virginia Historical Society; Alexander Brown, "List of the 3000 earlieast settlers of Albemarle, Amherst and Bedford," on deposit with the Nelson County Historical Society; and Edgar Woods, History of Albemarle County, which contains an extensive listing of genealogies.

19 See A. Brown Cabells and Their Kin; Brown, "List of 3000 Settlers" Joseph Cabell to N.F. Cabell, Sept. 28, 1854; and Albemarle deed records, passim. William Mathews sold Dr. Cabell land in 1748 (Albemarle Deeds, I, p. 3).

20 Albemarle Deed books, Cabell Payn, passim; 14 YMHB, 1906, p. 326. Watts received 1,400 acres on Piney River for a 21-year lease of quitrents.

21 14 VMHB, 1906, and various articles in this time period in the VMHB concerning the Brooke family.

22 See Frederick Horner, History of the Blair, Banister, and Braxton Families; Albemarle Deed books; The Higginbothams became large land owners in their own right with some 20,000 acres of land acquired in Albemarle and Amherst from 1749-1800. In 1751 Moses Higginbotham (1724?-1790) conveyed 2024 acres to his brother and brother-in-law William Morrison. Moses retained property around the site of Sweet Briar College. Thomas Higginbotham lived on 540 acres along the Piney River in 1750. Nine years later, though, he had left for Georgia. (See William M. Sweeny, The Higginbotham Family, pp. 23-30).

23 Albemarle Deed books; Va. Gazette 18A p 1851, 2 September 1757, 24 October 1755, 17 October 1751. Charles Lynch also made a great deal of money as a speculator, acquiring some 195 (see Ayres, p. 21).

24 The litigation concerned patented land, not certified, on the Buffalo River in 1754 and 1755. Chiswell's four daughters, connected into the upper crust of

Virginia society with marriage into the Carter, Robinson, Lewis, and Nelson families, claimed their father had died before getting formal sanction of the property. Somehow they had not discovered this for forty years. Gov. William H. Cabell issued a patent to the Chiswell descendants in 1806, but the previous occupants refused to vacate. The case went to trial in 1809 in Staunton chancery court. See copies of "1809 Chancery Court Suit" and "1806 Landgrant to Chiswell Heirs," copies on file in the Nelson County Historical Society.

25 Brown, "List of 3000 settlers," Edgar Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 164.

26 Brown, "List of 3000 settlers", Virginia Land Office patents, 1744, 1747.

27 Virginia Land Office patents, passim.

28 Litigation of W. King v. Braxtons, UVA, Alderman Library Mss.

29 Loyalist Claims Commission of Great Britain, public record office, A.O. 13/32; Brown, Cabells and their Kin.

30 Albemarle Deed books; Brown, "List of 3000 Settlers."

31 Albemarle Order Book 1745-1748; Nathaniel Pawlett, Albemarle County Road Orders, passim.

32 Ibid. Moses Higginbotham in September 1745 was ordered to oversee the road from Higginbotham's Mill across the Buffalo to Harvie's Road. All the male tithables between the Buffalo and the Secretary's Mountain were ordered to join John Graves in clearing operations up to the mouth of the Tye (O.B., p. 65). In March 1747 Samuel Spencer was ordered to survey routes from the Fluvanna to Freeland's Tract in Cabell's area. Philip Davis was appointed overseer for the Rockfish Road into Harvie's Road. The settlements on Cabell's land, the Buffalo, on the Tye, and the tithes of Colonial Lomax, Harmer, and King were ordered to assist (O.B., p. 34).

In 1745 William Cabell was appointed surveyor of the highway from the ford of the Tye to the court house. The tithes of Reverend Stith, John Harris, Charles Lavender, John Isham, and Samuel Burks were selected to help with the construction. Also in 1745 Thomas Jones was appointed surveyor from the Rockfish ford to the Sawann Creek Road. John Glover was likewise overseers of the road from the mouth of the Tye to Harris Creek. John Stone served as overseer of the 1746 Nicolas Davis Road and used the tithes of Nicolas Davis, William Stith, John Bolling, and George Stovall. James Christian and William Cabell had general supervision over the other roads in the Amherst area in 1746. In 1747, John Harvie was appointed overseer of

the road to clear the Rockfish Road to Harvie's Road. Other Amherst land owners, such as John Dickie and John Key, served as overseers for roads in eastern Albemarle.

33 See Albemarle Order Book 1745-1748 and Journals of the House of Burgesses, passim.

34 See Order books, passim; Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 10. The 1745 ordinary rates were fixed as follows: West India rum, 10 shillings for one gallon; New England rum, 18 pence for one gallon; whiskey, 18 pence for one gallon; Madeira wine, 2 shillings, 6 pence for one quart; Virginia cask bear, 71/2 pence for one quart; Virginia bottled beer, one shilling for one quart; English strong beer, French brandy, and peach brandy, one shilling for one quart; a servant's diet for six pence a regular diet, for twelve pence; and a night's lodging for 11/2 pence.

35 See Francies Walker, The Early Episcopal Church in the Amherst-Nelson Area; also Catherine Seaman, ed., Amherst County Environmental Studies, 60, which supplies the information that the White Oaks Church land was bought by Reverend John Duncan from Daniel Tucker.

36 Patents, 1627-1779, Land Office Inventory, Virginia State Library. As a note of caution, it should be mentioned that these records are not necessarily complete. These records form the basis for the next several paragraphs.

37 See Alfred Percy's Old Place Names: West Central Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Mountain (Madison Heights, Va. 1950).

38 Miscellaneous deed records, land patents, and surveys; also Brown "List..." J. Fry, Report on the Back Settlement of Virginia, 1751, LOC transcript from the PRO, C.O. 5: 327/pp. 370.

39 Rose's account book dates from 1729. A microfilm copy of the diary of Robert Rose is on deposit at Alderman Library. The original, more than 100 pages, is on file in Colonial Williamsburg. There is an annotated edition by Hugh Blair Grigsby in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. It is reported that an edited version of Rose's diary will soon be published. Robert Rose's brother Alexander was an overseer and a joyner; his brother John also lived in the Amherst area. See also transcript, "The Roses of Geddes, Amherst County, Virginia." and source for that period, and fortunately Rose's Diary carried the narrative from that date to 1751. St. Anne's parish in Albemarle was created by the legislative act.

40 Rose diary, passim, "A Prospectus for the Amherst County Copper Mine," p. 7. James Warren was no doubt limited in his business dealings by his illiteracy.

41 Rose diary.

42 Ibid. The creek bank gospel occurred on September 12, 1749

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.: A Brown Papers, William & Mary, Box ii.

46 Rose diary. For further references to religion in Albemarle, see the Virginia Gazette, June 20, 1751, March 5, 1752.

47 Rose Diary

48 The Reverend Stith was ready to accept the call to St. Anne's in 1751, but he was appointed president of William and Mary instead (see Morton, Colonial Virginia, II 625).

49 Rose Diary.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid. September 29, 1748; December 19, 1750; November 30, 1749; April 11, 1750.

53 Ibid. October 19, 1748; February 11, April 8, June 6, September 21, September 28, November 27, 1749; December 13, 1750.

54 Ibid.: June 15, 1750, February 5-21, 1751; April 21, 1749; February 3, 1751; March 23, 1750.

55 Ibid.: January 23, 1749 VMHB, 317; Ayres, p. 24, 60. See also 1749 William Phelps inventory. Andrew Reid, Sr.'s will was probated in 1751. He left five children including Alexander, Andrew, Esther, Martha and Abbina bingham, still in Ireland. Six of Nevil's slaves were named Eliza, Terry, Pompey, Coo, Bear? and Philip.

56 Walker is also given the credit for introducing the Albemarle pippin apple. Walter studied in Williamsburg under Dr. George Gilmer, whose family later moved to Albemarle and transacted commercial and land

business with John Harmer (see Natalie J. Disbrow, "thomas Walker of Albemarle," Mag of Alb. County History, I, 5-18; Rose Diary, July 16, 1750; Ayres, p. 42).

57 Albert Porter, passim: Brown Papers, William & Mary, Box VII: JHOB 1751, p. 511; Cabell papers, UVA.

58 Rose Diary, January 28, 1749; May 13, September 27, 1748; April 25, May 1, 1749; August 30, September 28, 1750.

59 Ibid, June 26, 1748; January 30-February 4, 1749; August 14, September 27, 1750; February 1, 1749; January 22, 1751.

60 James Maury, Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, February 10, 1756, pp. 338-339.

61 Rose Diary, April 9, May 5, 1749; March 29, 1750. See also Gooch Papers, July 4, 1746; PRO, C.O. 5/1326; Va. Historical Society Papers, #600.

62 Rose Diary, September 30, 1748, passim.

63. Ibid: June 9, 12, 13, 21, 25, 1749; April 24, April 27, 1750; January, April 1751. Rose also visited Colonel Charles Carter in Stafford in February 1750. Another prominent neighbor of Rose from Urbanna was John Mitchell, botanist, and author of the 1755 Map of British and French Dominions in North America. One of Rose's itineraries in the summer of 1749 took him from Colonel Joshua Fry's, to John Bouren's (?) to Dr. Arthur Hopkins's in Goochland, to Tuckahoe plantation, to Westham to Richmond, Graham's house at New Castle.

64 Morton, Colonial Virginia, II 572, 590-54. New Englanders under a Boston merchant did attack Canada and seize Louisburg, but the peace treaty forced them to return it. Settlement terms were much more favorable in the far west than in Amherst. Pioneers had only to provide one family for every 1,000 acres. Quitrents and seatings could be deferred for several years (Ibid. II, 540).

65 JHOB, 1745-1747, pp. 184, 212, 241, 243.

66 JHOB, 1748-1749, pp. 259, 258, 303, 317, 339, 271, 276, 380, 341; 6H 478-483. English merchants heartily complained against the bill which was later repealed. (JHOB, pp. 269, 302)

67 Ibid., pp. 340, 390, 386, 392, 405, 324; Legislative J. of Council, pp. 1020, 104b.

68 Legis J. of Council, p. 998; Francis Walker, p. 26.

69 Albemarle Will Book, 1751, p. 24. All of Rose's homes are still standing except Rose Isle, which burned. Residents of Geddes from the Rose family have now gone past the seventh generation from the reverend. For further information on life and society in the American colonies at mid-century, see Richard Hofstadter, America at 1750.

Notes Chapter IX

- 1) The chapter title is from the banner slogan of Purdie's Virginia Gazette. The newspaper carried the phrase from the 1770s to the end of the war.
- 2) See Continental Army Units, pp. 143-144. The most drastic decline occurred in 1777 when troop strength fell by some 1,200, and 1781 which witnessed a reduction of some 8,000. The growing Continental disparity with the British troops is emphasized.
- 3) Continental Army Units of the Revolution carries detailed information on the organization and redesignation of all state units. Due to the inflation of officerships and the declining rank-and-file enrollment, most promotions to higher ranks were frozen after 1778.
- 4) Ibid, pp. 52-63.
- 5) Ibid, pp. 52-53, 114.
- 6) IX Hening 267-268.
- 7) Continental Army Units.
- 8) Ibid, p., 76.
- 9) Cartwright was the father of the famous nineteenth-century Methodist evangelist of the same name. Peter's relative, Jesse Cartwright, was in the artillery service. Jacob R. Brown attended to a wound that Lafayette had received at Brandywine. See Pension application records..
- 10) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, p. 13.
- 11) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 199.
- 12) See Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution; Amherst pension records.
- 13) John Selby, The Road to Yorktown, p., 1

14) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, p. 13. Cabell also served as an aide on George Washington's staff.

15) Ibid., compiled from payroll statistics. See Continental Army Units for the disposition of Virginia forces at Valley Forge. Amherst soldiers were in the 14th Virginia Regiment under Brig. Gen. George Weedon. Weedon also commanded the 2nd, 4th, 10th (Captain James Franklin's unit), and the 3rd. Brig. Gen. Charles Scott commanded the 8th and 12th Virginia regiments while Brig. Gen. William Woodford commanded the 7th and the 11th, the latter containing Daniel Morgan's new unit. Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg Commanded the 1st, 5th, 6th and 13th Virginia Regiments. Benjamin Taliaferro served in Daniel Morgan's outfit and obtained the rank of captain at Valley Forge.

16) See list of deserters in Force, American Archives, II, Series 5, p. 362. The deserters included Josiah Jones. John Bowman was captured but later exchanged. Pvt. Thomas Gregory was also captured in the New Jersey campaigns.

17) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, p. 25, compiled from payroll.

18) Ibid., see pension applications. Key and quite a few others were discharged in 1778.

19) Ibid., payroll accounts. These included from Samuel Jordan Cabell's company: Sgt. Ralph Jopling, Cpl. David Duncan, Pvts. John Philips, James Becknal, John Dickerson, Samuel Staples, Benjamin Clark, Josephus Bailey, William , Ptolemy Hansbrough, Littlebury Coleman, John Welsh, Robert Pollard, Benjamin Wright, Edmond Deavenport, Achilles Deavenport, Absolem Stratton, Samuel Going, Robert Miller, George Munroe, Thomas Moody, Reuben Nevill, Samuel McDowell, John Tate, William Gillenwater, David Bowles, James Vaughan, Bassalius Loveday, Walter Lockert, Reuben Griffin, Moses London, John Deaver, William Steel, Philip Hockaday, William Johnson, John Bell, Thomas Becknal, and John Tyree. From Captain James Franklin's company: Robert Brown (fifer & drummer), George Peyton, Isham Thacker, James Smith, Thomas Crawley, and John McCalver.

20) Silverman, p. 358. fifiers played without key leaves or re-usable joints. They played high to cut through the noise made by the drummers.²¹⁾ Shadrach Battles (b. 1746) pension application. He enlisted in Amherst in 1777 and fought for three years in the 10th Virginia at Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Savannah. Battles was discharged at Augusta, Georgia. Through the northern campaign he was a trusted companion of Clough Shelton. Battles later moved to Albemarle County and applied there for pension in 1820. In failing health, he had to be carried in on a stretcher.

22) Sweeney, Amherst in the Revolution, p. 29.

23) See Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, I, 1701.

24) See Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, Ezra Morrison's pension application.

25) Ibid., John Newman's application.

26) Cabell had been furloughed in February, 1779 and promoted sometime before November.

27) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 200.

28) Ibid.

29) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pension applications Jordan was discharged from service in June 1782. Later, he was appointed colonel and then sergeant-of-arms in the Virginia House of Delegates. Many Amherst privates were captured at Charleston, including Edmund Davis (1736-1835).

30) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 200.

31) Executive Letter Book, March 1781, p. 40.

32) Brown, Cabells and Their Kin, pp. 200-201.

33) Calendar of Virginia State Papers (CVSP), I, 354.

34) Pension application, John Kippers, Sr. 35) Pension application, Frederick Padgett (b. 1753). 36) William Sweeny, The Higginbotham Family. William Higginbotham enlisted in 1777 and served in the 6th Virginia. In 1778 he served in the 2nd Virginia. He received bounty land warrants in 1793, 1810, and 1811.

37) See "Captain Carter and Colonel Tarleton," from the Nelson County Examiner, in Alexander Brown scrapbook, pp. 53-54, Va. Historical Society, Richmond.

38) See pension application, James Hopkins. See also Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, Azariah Martin's payroll, p. 52.

39) Mathew Height and Edmund Davis, pension applications.

40) McAllister, Virginia Militia, passim.

41) James Hopkins, pension application.

42) See various pension applications from those serving in Captain Franklin's company. Franklin was granted a healthy pension, but he was mute about the battle in his application. He died in 1813, leaving an estate of eleven slaves and 3,750 acres of bounty land. See McAllister, Virginia Militia, passim.

43) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 119.

44) See Chapter 9 for more details on the logistical service of Amherst residents.

45) McCulloch was born in Westmoreland County and educated at a school in Rockfish Gap. In 1768 he served as a tutor to the family of Colonel William Cabell. he also taught Elizabeth Horsley, whom he married in 1768. McCulloch was a justice of the peace from 1770 through the Revolution and a churchwarden after 1772. He enlisted in the army in 1776 and resigned from the militia in 1779. He assumed the position of sheriff in 1783 and served on the Lexington Parish vestry from 1785 to 1809. Late in

the war McCulloch purchased the estate of "Verdant Vale" on the James below Waugh's Ferry, property first owned by Cornelius Thomas. When his house burned in 1820, destroying most of his family records, he spent the remaining six years of his life with his daughter Isabella Waugh on the neighboring farm. McCulloch was remembered by his friends as a fine scholar. See Brown, Cabells and their Kin, pp. 189-190, and Amherst County Order Books for biographical details.

47) Nicholas Cabell (1750-1803) was lieutenant colonel of the 4th Battalion of state militia in 1778-9. He served on the Amherst Parish vestry and was the county's representative in the House of Delegates at the same time, from 1779-1781. Cabell served again in the House of Delegates from 1783-1785. Cabell was active after the war in various organizations, including the Society of the Cincinnati, and helped charter the George Lodge of the Free Masons in 1791. See Brown, Cabells and their Kin, passim.

48) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pp. 35-37. Gabriel Penn was related to John Penn, signer of the Declaration of Independence from North Carolina.

49) For a breakdown of soldiers from present-day Nelson County see Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pp. 40-8, and J. B. Coincon, History of Colonial Nelson County.

50) Patrick Henry, letters, Feb. 4, 1777; August 6, 1777; Governor's Letters, I, 98, 138, 178.

51) Journals of the Council, 348, 240.

52) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 49. See also John Morrison payroll, Cabell Papers, Box II.

53) Governor's Letters, I, 80, from Journals of the Board of Trade, Dec. 23, 1777;

54) Thomas Jefferson to the Commissioners of Amherst et al. August 29, 1780, Governor's Letters, II, 178.

55) Brown, p. 119

56) CVSP, I, p. 404, Baron von Steuben to Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 28, 1780.

57) Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution, pp. 58, 74. See IS Hening 127, 268, 280.

58) Barnett moved out to Tennessee in 1800 and later lived in Georgia. He had returned to Albemarle by 1841 and received a pension of \$60 per year. Abraham Goff enlisted in 1778 from Bedford. He was captured in 1780 and discharged at Yorktown. he received a pension in 1820. Goff died in 1851. His wife continued to receive a stipend after his death. Sherwood Going served in the 14th Virginia in the north and retired to Charlottesville. He purchased 70 acres in 1787 and another 217 acres in 1827. William Johnson lived in Bedford and served in the 11th Virginia in 1780. He received a pension in 1825 and died in 1830. Luke Valentine of Bedford fought in the Hillsboro and Camden campaigns, his family prospered after the war. See Luther P. Jackson, Virginia Negro Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War.

59) See Peter Hartless pension application, National Archives.

60) See Joseph Sweeny and Samuel Higginbotham pension applications, National Archives.

61) See pension applications of Alexander Reid, William Walton, and James Cottrell; and McAllister.

62) See various pension application in the National Archives including those of Alexander Reid, George Key, William Camm, John Childress, and George Taylor. Taylor reported that the troops passed through one area called the "Shades of Death."

63) CVSP, I. 369, quoting correspondence of richard Winston to Colonel Henry Todd; also pp. 315, 322, 358.

64) A popular but improbable storm is the Camp was afraid of the British and left for Illinois to avoid them. See biographical information in Sweeny,

Amherst in the Revolution, p. 87. His granddaughter, Susanna Marguerite de Rielke married the first governor of Missouri.

65) See various pension applicants in Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, including richard Crittenden (1761-18410, John Cash, Tandy Burfoot (1761-?0), and William Pryor. Many Amherst soldiers were involved in the escapades of Indian warfare. William Pryor witnessed a muting at the for of Point Pleasant, saw the death of Chief Cornstalk, foraged for corn, and spied on the Shawnees. His brother John was disfigured by the Indians.

66) See Eckenrode, Revolution in Virginia, p. 237. William Hinton was leader of the Augusta Tories and may have had some connections in Amherst.

67) James Harrison pension application, National Archives?

68) The Barracks were located on the north branch of Ivy Creek on the estate of Colonel William Harvie. The Convention troops included the Royal Artillery, the 8th Company of the Canadian Regiment, the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 43rd, and 62nd Royal British regiments. captured German units were the Brunswick Dragoon,s the Regiment de Rhet, the Regiment de Riedeschel, Regiment Sprecht, the Regiment Hefs Haunan, and Refs Haunan Artillery. See CVSP, I, 493-494.

69) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pp. 57-59; McAllister, Virginia Militia, Garland was the father of Hudson M. Garland, an Amherst representative to the House of Delegates.

70) Lt. Col James Higginbotham served in the 9th Virginia Regiment. Benjamin Higginbotham managed his plantation in the officer's absence. In the French and Indian Was he had fought against the Indians at New River. John Higginbotham had been a captain of the colonial militia in 1769. In 1780 he served as a proccessioner in Lexington Parish. Several other Higginbothams, including William and Samuel, also served in the Revolution. For the definitive account of the family, see Sweeny, The HigginbothamFamily.

71) CVSP, I, 358,361.

72) Ibid., I, 341, 369, 405, 515, 521.

73) Ibid., I, 356, 405; see also Andrew Wright pension application. His daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Fortune another Revolutionary War soldier. She applied for a continuation of her father's pension in 1850. The following year her grandson was born. This was Thomas Fortune Ryan, the renowned but quiet Nelson and Wall Street financier.

74) Journal of Council proceedings in Governors Letters, II, 107. See Richard Bond and Benjamin Arnold, pension applicants. Arnold lived approximately fifteen miles from the court house until the 1790s. See pension application of William Walton. A portrait of Walton can be found in Gadsden, Alabama. See Sweeny, ibid.

75) See Azariah Martin (1764-1834) pension application. Martin was the nephew of the captain of the same name. Ensign Jonathan Reid was also stationed at the courthouse. See also Benjamin Mays (b. 1757) pension application, ibid. Captain Higginbotham served with the infantry at New Glasgow. Leonard Baldock guarded the powder magazine at the same locality.

76) McAllister, Virginia Militia, and Thomas Jones pension application.

77) CVSP, I, p. 424.

78) Governors Letters, II, 203, quoting Executive Letter Book, 1781, p. 60. Steuben remarked in a fit of pique that amherst was not one of the better rifle counties, anyway. The baron also insisted that all recruits be at least 5'4" tall. See also pension application of Thomas Robertson (b. 1769).

79) CVSP, I, 425. George Rogers Clark particularly criticized the quartermaster's department.

80) See pension applications of John Cash (1757-1836) and Richard Crittenden, National Archives. Amherst soldiers participated at the Battle of Fort Chiswell.

81) CVSP, I, 447.

82) Ibid., p. 455.

83) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 123, quoting Feb. 1781 diary of William Cabell.

84) Governors Letters, III, p. 326, quoting Executive Letter Book, 1781, p. 78, Thomas Jefferson to Baron von Steuben.

85) Ibid., p. 425.

86) See Azariah Martin pension application, National Archives.

87) CVSP, I, 590, March 23, 1781.

88) James Harrison's pension application, National Archives. See Rockbridge County Historical Society, Lexington, Virginia.

89) CVSP, II, 159, 173, 367

90) Governors Letters, III, 530.

91) See Charlottesville Daily Progress, p. 7-8.

92) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 124. Major Edmund Read resided at "Union Hill" for much of 1781.

93) Professor William McElroy of Central Virginia Community College has tracked Jefferson's route through the county. Many local residents have their own theories about Jefferson's progress through the county; enough to make one wonder how the governor ever reached Poplar Forest.

94) Tarleton, A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces..., p. 344. Some 20 stragglers from the convention prisoners joined Tarleton.

95) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 210.

96) Executive Letter Book, #2, p. 44, VSL.

97) CVSP, II, 156.

98) Quoted in Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 212.

99) Ibid., p. 214.

100) CVSP, II, 294. See also pension application of Anthony Campbell (b. 1761), National Archives.

101) Charlottesville Daily Progress, p. 5. By 1783, all state arsenals except the one at Point of Fork had closed. Ross sold the 24-acre site to the state in 1787, but never recovered his losses. Ross owned at one time in the 1780s some 100,000 acres in Virginia and enjoyed a reputation as the state's largest landowner. Nevertheless, when he died in 1817, he was still bitter at the state's skimpy compensation.

102) CVSP, II, 191, 203, 637.

103) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, p. 215. See also John Cash pension application, National Archives.

104) CVSP, II, 551, 378, 518, 544.

105) William Tucker's company numbered 86 men, including Sergeant Joseph Burrus, later Amherst representative in the General Assembly, and sergeants Joseph Higginbotham, Jarkin Gatewood, and David Stovall.

106) Brown, Cabells and their Kin, pp. 166, 231.

107) See McAllister Virginia Militia, and Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, passim.

108) Selby, American Revolution, p. 191.

109) See Emory Evans, Thomas Nelson, for full biographical information.

110) Sweeny, Amherst in the Revolution, pp. 65-67 and CVSP, 1, 567; William Fontaine to ?, October 26, 1781.

111) Pension application of Micajah Frazier, National Archives. The British prisoners survived captivity very well. Amherst residents also profited from the prisoners. A military theater in Staunton performed two plays a week. See Silverman, p. 352.

Note from Seaman: The footnotes in hand labeled "After Chapter III" do not seem to correlate with chapter material.

Notes Chapter X

1) "The Critical Period" is a term coined by historians of the early republic to describe the era spanning the Declaration of Independence to the establishment of the federal Constitution. Given the variety of political arrangements and institutional choices facing the confederation of the thirteen states, the term "critical" is most appropriate in examining the tortuous evolution towards a federal republic.

2) Burgess Cornelius Thomas died in 1775; Colonel Joseph Cabell focused most of his attention of Buckingham County after 1780 (which he represented that year in the House of Delegates). Two original committee of safety members died in the 1780s, David Shepherd and James Nevil.

3) The additions were William Cabell, Jr., John Wiatt, Josiah Ellis, and Nathan Crawford in 1784. (1782-1784 Amherst County Order Book, p. 275). Nevil died in 1785, John Rose resigned because of "weariness " from his public duties, and Henry Landon Davies was replaced "by reason of his being hard of hearing" (*ibid.*, p., 502), Daniel Gaines also temporarily phased out some of his public duties, including his command of the second militia battalion in 1784.

4) Besides the obvious political assistance rendered by his father, Colonel William Cabell, Samuel Jordan Cabell established connections with the powerful Patrick Henry clan by marrying Sally Syme on November 17, 1781.

5) William Cabell, Jr., received civic and military training, as well as general preparatory schooling, from John Johnston, William Fontaine, and Colonel Peter Fontaine before the war. Justice Gabriel Penn served as first lieutenant colonel and then colonel of the second militia battalion (1742-1784). Samuel Higginbotham (1747?1803), although not a justice in this period, continued the Higginbotham family tradition of distinguished service to the county as a militia colonel in 1787.

6) In terms of remuneration, the clerkship was equal to that of sheriff since the county levy always provided equal compensation for the two positions. Before becoming clerk, William Loving also served as an ordinary keeper, a member of grand juries, and a militia captain.

7) May 13, 1777, Amherst Legislative Petition A833, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

8) Amherst County Order Book 1777, p. 185.

9) Ibid., 1780, 1781, pp. 427, 437.

10) Ibid., 1778, p. 243. Mrs. Nevil was boarded by the county jailer, William Pollard, and was supplied medicine by the county clerk.

11) The militia captains for 1780 for the first battalion were William Loving, Patrick Rose, John Digges, and David Shelton; for the second battalion, Ambrose Rucker, Charles Burras and Josiah Ellis (Order Book, 1780, p. 421).

12) Order Book, 1780, p. 437.

13) Ibid., 1777, pp. 168, 217.

14) Ibid., 1778, pp. 217, 224; 1785, p. 305. Moffitt died in 1784.

15) Order Book, 1778, p. 330; ibid., 1781-1784, p. 39 (1782); 1781, p. 456.

16) Order Book, 1778, p. 332. Interestingly enough Martin Key, Jr., is still referred to as an overseer in 1782, but for whom remains unclear. Martin Key, Sr. was an original justice for Fluvanna County in 1777, another site as Walter King's extensive land holdings.

17) Order Book, 1779, pp. 369, 378, 381. A notice in the orders indicates that at the same time the county road leading through John

Harmer's plantation and connecting with Abraham Warwick's estate was rerouted.

18) John Harmer bequeathed his title to any Virginia property his estate might reclaim, or reimbursement for such, to his nephew George Harmer. George died in 1786, leaving as legatee his nephew John Lambert and Dr. George Gilmer of Albemarle. Walter King left his Virginia claims to his illegitimate son, Walter King Cole, who was successful in recovering some of his father's Henry County property. David Ross of Richmond acquired much of King's Fluvanna estate.

19) According to some reports, the main edifice at Oak Ridge was paid for the surplus goods and labor Cabell acquired in his cut-rate purchase of Nassau. Colonel Cabell may have also made a tidy sum from selling produce from this property for the use of the garrison at the Albemarle Barracks (see Edgar Woods, Albemarle, p. 54).

20) Order Book, 1782, p. 482. The county records are particularly sparse for 1781, indicating that customary business was largely sidelined in favor of military preparedness.

21) Order Book, 1782, pp. 477-488, contains the list of Amherst claims for foodstuffs, livestock, vehicles, and manpower supplied for the various campaigns. Amherst wagoners played a particularly significant role in the evacuation of Richmond in 1780 and in the Yorktown campaign of 1781 (see the claims by Robert Wright in *ibid.*). Wagoners such as Wright had gained valuable experience in leading cattle droves through Rockfish gap to valley or eastern markets.

22) The enumerated tax was authorized to secure funding for the war operations of the state government of Virginia. In addition to the taxes established by the first government of the Commonwealth in 1776, a supplemental tax of £5 per slave and £3 for free males over the age of twenty-one was enacted in 1779. Tobacco was taxed under this provision at the rate of 30 shillings per hogshead.

Commodity taxes were applied to every county tithable. The specific tax collected money, tobacco, and grain for a fund to allow the Continental Congress to borrow money for the national war effort. Amherst was required to send seven lists of tithables annually to the state finance office as substantiation for the specific tax levies. None of these lists before 1782 survive.

23) Order Book, 1779, pp. 361,379.

24) Ibid., 1780, pp. 400, 417. As the county became more familiar with the procedures for collecting and handling the specific and enumerated taxes, junior magistrates and officials were increasingly delegated to these posts, especially after the militia companies began to play a large role in tax collections. John Rose, Daniel Gaines, William Cabell, Jr., Samuel Meredith, and William Loving were commissioners for the later years of the war. If tax collectors were derelict in their duties, however, they were quickly replaced: a momentary disgrace that befell Alexander Reid, Jr. (see Order Book 1781), pp. 447, 456).

25) A document presented to the General Assembly from Amherst on October 15, 1779, stated that the petitioners preferred the former method of property taxes over the tax on enumerated commodities because the latter compelled the poor to pay as much as the wealthy. Another petition on May 18, 1780, signed by a wide cross section of the county (including James Nevil) requested a postponement on the collection of enumerated taxes until after a late harvest. And again in 1783, farmers from a mountainous section of the county (including Justice Roderick McCulloch) sought to substitute hemp for tobacco in their assessments because hemp was the principal cash crop of the area. See Amherst County Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Library.

26) Order Book, 1780, p. 410. John Griffin was the builder. One of William Loving's responsibilities as commissioner was to ground the wheat collected. Ibid., 1781, p. 447.

27) William Loving, for example, served as militia captain of the Amherst Parish battalion, was commissioner of the specific tax, and functioned as general commissary for the lower district.

28) James Nevil, Henry Martin, and John Barnett were selected as commissioners of the first battalion; Anthony Rucker, William Ware and Roderick McCulloch for the second battalion. If the commissioners disagreed in their assessments, the values were to be averaged. All inspections were to be conducted between March and June (Order Book, 1782, p. 465-466).

29) Land and Personal Property Tax Records, Amherst County, 1782-1788, in the Virginia State Library. These records will be examined more closely in the discussions on social structure in Chapter XI. The legislative citation of the census of 1782 is IX Hening 40. In 1784 this act was amended to require the listing of allwhite persons. Each of the eight hundreds of the county (compact territorial units) was assigned to a particular justice, as had been done with colonial levies.

30) See IS Hening 361 and passim, 1777-1783. A useful overview of the tobacco trade during the war can be found in Jacob Price, France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, volume two.

31) See Amherst legislative petition of October 15, 1779. Amherst also had its own internal inspection system throughout the war, not only for tobacco but also for the packing and weighing of pork, beef, flour, and pitch. Gabriel Penn and John Martin were among the inspectors.

32) Alexander Brown Papers, II, in Swem Library of the College of William and Mary. The accelerating depreciation of Continental currency was another measure of inflation for Amherst. The county sheriffs were periodically summoned to collect such currency (although little appears to have circulate in the area) and redeem it for the next in a succession of Continental reissues.

33) Order Book, 1782, pp. 474-498.

34) There are a number of state and federal registers, compiled at different dates, of pension applications in the Virginia State Library. It is virtually impossible to track down the complete set of records for Amherst since none of these registers are arranged by county of military service. The best biographical sources for Amherst are Lenora Sweeney, Amherst in the Revolution and the microfilm pension records in the National Archives.

35) The other ordinary keepers for 1778 were Charles Ashley, George Baline, Jacob Brown, William Depreist, William Kyle, John Merritt, Thomas Moffitt, and John Peyton.

36) In 1779, Abraham Warwick maintained an establishment at Fendley's Gap and Samuel Camp, son of the late Reverend Ichabod Camp, opened a tavern at the former residence of Gabriel Penn. The following also received ordinary licenses: John Laurence (1779), Samuel McGehee (1780), William Whetsell (1780), John Witt, Jr. (1781), William Loving (1781), Wiatt Powell at New Glasgow (1782), Charles Posley (1783), William Pollard (1783), Thomas Powell (1783), Archelaus Cox (1784), John Mathews (1784), and Smyth Tandy (1784).

37) Order Book 1780, passim; 1782, p. 510; 1784, p. 234.

38) Ordinary keeper William Powell was presented for selling rum at more than the allowed price, but the indictment was dismissed in 1782.

39) Order Book, 1782-1782, p. 48.

40) The other owners of grist mills included John Penn and James Martin (1779); Charles Rododes, John Camden, Thomas Henry Talbot, and Charles Christian (near the site of Chiswell's old copper mine) in 1782; and John Thurmond, Ambrose Fowler, and Samuel Meredith (1783).

41) Alfred Percy, Piedmont Apocalypse, p. 29. Rucker did not receive a federal patent for his invention until the year of his death. Two more ferries were also authorized, linking Amherst to William Howard's land in Buckingham (1777) and also across to Bedford (1783). See Amherst Legislative Petitions. Road transportation in Amherst also suffered from problems connected to the physical health of the community. Minor epidemics of small pox led to the closing of entire roads to prevent the contamination of passers-by. The road by Charles Ashley's farm was discontinued temporarily in February 1777 because of this health factor.

42) See Ben R. Baldwin, "The Debt Owed by Americans to British Creditors 1763-1802," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1932, for the role of British creditors during the revolution.

43) Charles Irving (d. 1795) had been a factor for the Glasgow concern of Henderson, McCaul & Company. Unlike his fellow tradesmen Thomas Moffitt, Irving avoided serious accusation of collaboration with the enemy. Irving quickly severed his Scottish connections and became an independent merchant. Throughout the Revolution Irving maintained the close ties he had cultivated in the colonial period with leading Amherst planters such as Cabell and Nevil. In this period, Irving resided at Locust Hill, near Howardsville in Albemarle County.

44) See Order Book, 1783 and 1784, passim, for debts owed Ross by Edmund Wilcox, Daniel Gaines, Hugh Rose, and William Depriest. David Ross owned 100,000 acres by the end of the Revolution, but despite all of his commercial ventures in Amherst, he owned no real estate in the county. As is sometimes the case, however, the bigger the creditor, the harder his fall. Ross's reserves and assets proved to be more on paper than in specie. Ironically, he was done in by under-capitalized speculation on several tracts of escheated property he had acquired, including Walter King's former Fluvanna estate. Colonel William Cabell was brought in as an arbitrator for the debt proceedings that commenced against Ross. This matter dragged on from the 1780s until 1795.

45) See Order Book, 1782-1784, pp. 60, 52, for particular examples. The student of Amherst history can turn to the records of any court session and be buried by an avalanche of material on debt cases.

46) In one 1778 court session, for example, the firm of Carter & Trent alone was responsible for initiating sixteen debt suits out of a total court docket of two hundred cases.

47) Amherst Order Book, 1782-1784, p. 52.

48) The attorneys licensed to practice in the county during this period included Edmund Winston (1777), James Reid, Jr. (1779), William S. Crawford (1782), and John Carr (1785). Except for occasional narrative testimony recorded in felony trials, the court minutes from claims courts and grand jury presentments list only the names of the litigants and the judgment rendered. Although justices were not bound by conflict of interest regulations, constables, surveyors, ordinary owners, and mill keepers were automatically excluded from serving on grand juries.

49) For example, nine persons were indicted for retailing liquor illegally in the October 1778 court and eleven were similarly presented in May 1780. Each court usually had to deal with a number of assault and battery charges, but crimes labeled as assault and battery were considered misdemeanors. In a case involving a fight where one man bit off part of another's ear, the charge was elevated to felony level (see Order Book, 1785, p. 85). A new, soon-to-be inadequate prison, was constructed by George Gilbert in 1778.

50) Order Books, 1779-1784, passim. After Blaine's second conviction for the illegal retailing of liquor, he was still able to adopt a fairly transparent ruse by having Thomas Powell operate a legal ordinary out of his home. More bizarre cases of sexual deviancy are fairly rare in the court documents. One John McAnally was indicted for incest with his step-daughter in 1784 (Order Book, 1784, p. 111).

51) In 1778 Amherst was divided into two parishes: Lexington (modern Amherst County) and Amherst (modern Nelson County). In 1779, the vestrymen for Lexington were Ambrose Rucker, Hugh Rose, Daniel Gaines, David Woodroof, James Dillard, and Richard Stratton. In 1785 Benjamin Rucker and Jacob Oglesby were added to this group. The Amherst vestry included Colonel William Cabell, Nicholas Cabell, John Rose, Patrick Rose, Charles Rose, Henry Martin, Zacharias Taliaferro, John Dawson, Lucas Powell and William Bigg.

52) Frances Walker, The Early Episcopal Church in the Amherst-Nelson Area, p. 34.

53) Order Book, 1782, p. 463.

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(note by Seaman1989: end of Notes)

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